

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

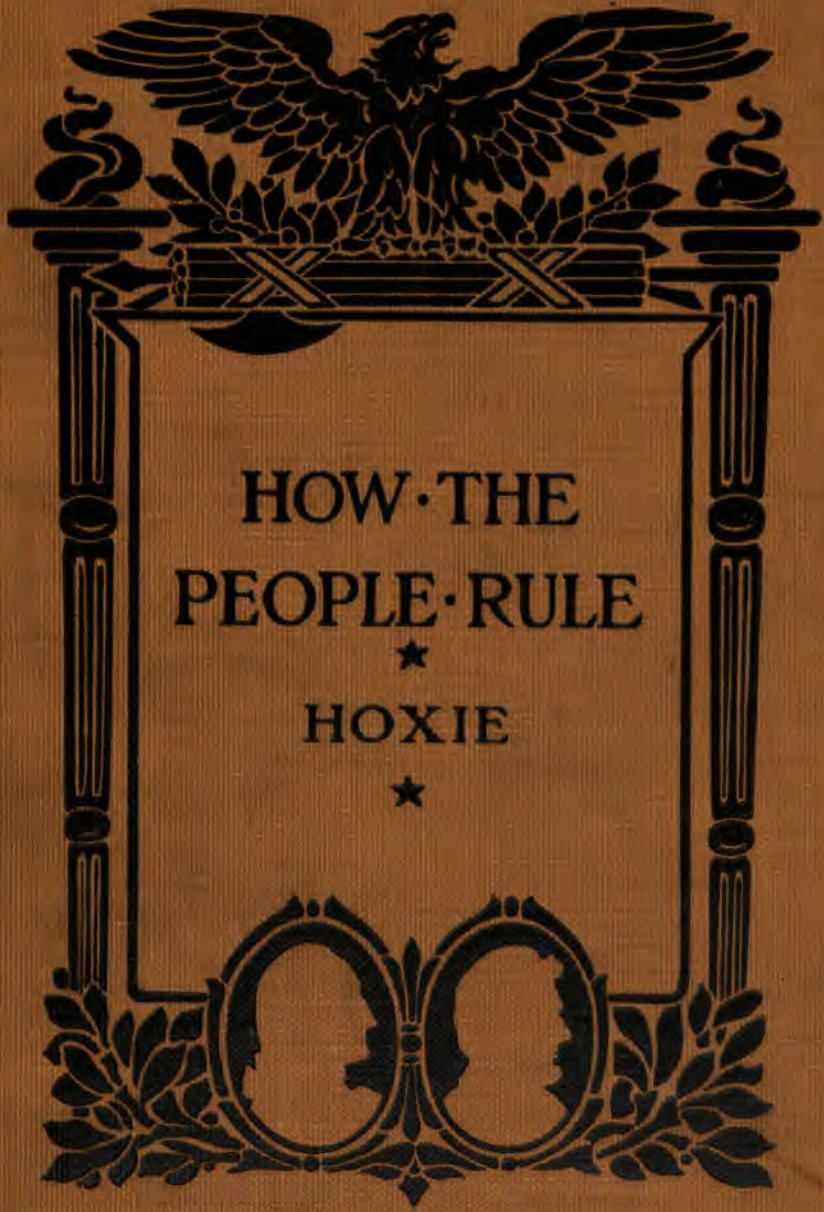
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



HOW · THE PEOPLE · RULE

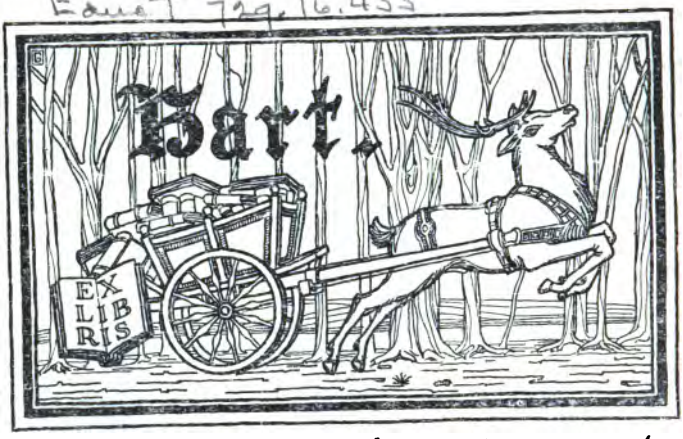
★

HOXIE

★

SILVER · BURDETT · & · COMPANY

EducT 729.16.455



Albert Bushnell Bart

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

THE GIFT OF
ALBERT BUSHNELL
OF CAMBRIDGE
Class of 1

Property of
Directors of the
Lawrence Plan




3 2044 097 049 894

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE

CIVICS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

BY

CHARLES DEFOREST HOXIE, PD.M.

LATE MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK BAR, AUTHOR OF "CIVICS FOR NEW YORK STATE"

REVISED BY

B. NORMAN STRONG

DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ARSENAL SCHOOL DISTRICT, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT



SILVER, BURDETT AND COMPANY

NEW YORK BOSTON CHICAGO

Educ T 729.16.455

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
GIFT OF
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

DEC 5 1923

COPYRIGHT, 1903, 1916, BY
SILVER, BURDETT AND COMPANY

PREFACE

This little book is to be used by the children of the grammar schools. For this reason it gives considerably less attention to the formal side of civil government and more to practical and ethical features than is usual with textbooks on this subject. It aims, by concrete illustrations, easily understood by the child, to lead our boys and girls to see for themselves the need for government and law, to see also the need for good government; and, further, to see that this is possible only as the citizen and voter does day by day those things necessary to bring about and maintain good government.

In pursuance of these ends the child is introduced at once to civic features touching his own daily life — the laws of the street, the classroom, and the school. As he reads he discovers the reasons for these laws. He feels himself a part of a community benefited by government and law. He feels a personal interest in maintaining the law. By easy steps he is then led to a consideration of the more important features of our local, state, and national forms of government. The subjects of taxes, party machinery, and elections are presented simply and comprehensively, and an effort is made to give our young people a clear idea of some of the great questions now dividing the voters.

The need of such instruction in the grammar schools cannot be questioned. The vast majority of our boys and girls never reach the high schools, where civics is

a recognized formal study. Most of them leave school practically uninstructed in this important subject. What information they then get is at best fragmentary and often from prejudiced and partisan sources. It is hoped that this book will aid in developing in the grammar schools more general instruction in the simple elementary features of civil government.

Attention is here called to the extracts from eminent writers that follow each chapter of this book. None is given that is not appropriate to the text, and that is not at the same time an inspiration to civic virtue and worthy of being memorized by the student. Suggestive questions at the end of the chapters stimulate original thought and emphasize salient features of the text.

C. DEF. HOXIE.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	WHY WE HAVE LAWS	11
II.	HOW LAWS ARE MADE AND ENFORCED	17
III.	VOTERS AND CITIZENS	25
IV.	TAXES	33
V.	GOVERNMENT IN THE TOWN	42
VI.	GOVERNMENT IN THE VILLAGE	55
VII.	CITY GOVERNMENT: SOME THINGS IT DOES FOR THE PEOPLE	63
VIII.	CITY GOVERNMENT: HOW IT IS CARRIED ON	73
IX.	STATE GOVERNMENT: HOW IT CAME ABOUT — WHAT IT DOES FOR THE PEOPLE	83
X.	GOVERNMENT IN THE STATE: HOW IT IS CARRIED ON — THE COUNTY	90
XI.	GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES: HOW IT CAME ABOUT—WHAT IT DOES FOR THE PEOPLE	103
XII.	HOW THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS CARRIED ON	113
XIII.	SOME RIGHTS AND DUTIES	123
XIV.	GOING TO LAW	132
XV.	PARTIES AND ELECTIONS	140
XVI.	SOME QUESTIONS DIVIDING THE VOTERS	150

MAPS

PAGE

MAP OF SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, SHOWING DIVISION INTO WARDS 20

MAP OF FOURTH WARD, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, SHOWING ELECTION DISTRICTS 30

MAP OF POLK COUNTY, IOWA, SHOWING DIVISION INTO TOWNSHIPS 43

MAP OF RHODE ISLAND, SHOWING TOWNS 45

MAP OF VIRGINIA, SHOWING DIVISION INTO COUNTIES . 47

MAP OF CONNECTICUT, SHOWING DIVISION INTO FIVE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS 95

AMERICA

Nor force nor fraud shall sunder us! O ye
Who north or south, on east or western land,
Native to noble sounds, say truth for truth,
Freedom for freedom, love for love, and God
For God; O ye who in eternal youth
Speak with a living and creative flood
This universal English, and do stand
Its breathing book; live worthy of that grand
Heroic utterance — parted, yet a whole,
Far, yet unsevered — children brave and free
Of the great Mother-tongue, and ye shall be
Lords of an empire wide as Shakespeare's soul,
Sublime as Milton's universal theme,
And rich as Chaucer's speech, and fair as Spenser's dream.

Sydney Dobell.

HOW THE PEOPLE RULE

CHAPTER I

WHY WE HAVE LAWS

EVERY wide-awake boy likes a game of ball, and every boy knows that this game is best played where there is plenty of room, as in a vacant lot or an open field. Sometimes boys try to play ball on the streets. I watched such a game not long ago in the crowded street of a great city. At first everything went well; but soon the ball flew past the boy at the bat, and past another boy who tried hard to catch it. It bounded over the sidewalk, just missing a passing woman. It struck a window, and broke a pane of glass. One of the boys, in his eagerness to get the ball, was nearly run over by a trolley-car. Another ran against an old gentleman, almost knocking him down. Just then a policeman appeared, and the boys, who a moment before had been merrily playing, scattered in every direction. Why? Because there is a law against playing ball in the streets of that city.

LAWS ARE MADE TO PROTECT PERSONS AND PROPERTY

Why should an innocent game like ball-playing be forbidden on the city streets? Why should there be a law against it? We may answer these questions for ourselves if we think for a moment of the passing woman just missed by the flying ball, of the broken pane of glass, of the old gentleman nearly knocked down, of the boy who just escaped being run over by the car. We can see that ball-playing interferes with the comfort and safety of those who have a right to use the streets as passers-by; that it may cause injury to property along the streets; and, finally, that it is dangerous for the players. So the law forbids it. It forbids it in order to protect persons and property from injury. This protection of persons and property is one good reason for very many laws.

OTHER REASONS FOR LAW

But there are other reasons for law. What boy or girl has not been a member of some club or society? It may have been a lawn tennis club or a debating society. We all know the need of

rules in such organizations. Think of conducting a debate without order and without a chairman to preside! Think of playing tennis without any attention to the rules of the game! There would be little pleasure or profit in it. Think now of trying to do a large piece of work, like building a bridge or paving a street, without plan or rules, and with no one to direct the workmen! What would happen? Each man might insist on doing the work in a different way. Some might be in favor of using one kind of material, others in favor of another kind. Some might wish to use bricks, others stone, still others wood. The parts would not fit together. There would be disputes, confusion, loss of time and temper. The work would be neither well nor quickly done. We must have rules to govern the doing of such work, and a leader to direct the workmen.

LAW IN THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

In playing games, disputes sometimes arise which must be settled before the game can go on. In the game of baseball an umpire decides such disputes, the players agreeing beforehand to abide by his decision. The umpire is thus a kind

of judge whose duty it is to enforce the rules of the game. Disputes between men in business are often settled in much the same way, by taking the disputed question into court before a judge. The judge decides what is the law in the matter, and the people in dispute abide by his decision.

WE INHERIT MANY LAWS

We have laws because our fathers and our fathers' fathers before us had laws. There has never been a time in the known history of the world when men have lived together without some kind of government and law. Many of our present laws may be traced hundreds of years back in the practices of our ancestors. Thus, the law that a man accused of crime may be tried before a jury of twelve men of his neighborhood may be traced through more than seven hundred years back to the time of King Henry II of England.

NO REAL FREEDOM WITHOUT LAW

If we try to imagine a school conducted without rules and teachers, we can understand some-

thing of the condition of a people without laws. In a school without rules every pupil would be "a law unto himself." He might study little or much, as he pleased. He could recite his lessons if he felt like it and could find some one to hear him. He could be quiet and orderly or noisy and disorderly. We can understand that in such a school little or no progress would be made; for in the confusion that would result from everybody doing as he pleased, no pupil would be free to study his lessons in peace and quietness. We must have law and order that we may be free to obtain an education in school. Much the same thing holds true in every department of life. If men are to live together peaceably and work together successfully, each one enjoying the fruits of his own labor, there must be laws and a government to enforce the law.

To sum up, then, laws are needed to protect persons and property, to direct the doing of various kinds of public work, and to preserve peace and order in society. There can be no real freedom unless we are protected by law.

Suggestive Questions

Why are rules needed in school?

Do you think you would learn very much under a teacher who did not keep order in the school?

What is the business of the umpire in a game of baseball? In what way do the judges in our courts resemble the umpire?

Name any good law in force in your locality. Give a reason for it.

Let reverence of the law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, seminaries and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books and almanacs; let it be preached from pulpits, and proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice; in short, let it become the political religion of the nation. — Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER II

HOW LAWS ARE MADE AND ENFORCED

We have seen why we have laws, and we know that we live under the guidance and protection of many laws. Whence come these laws? How are they made and enforced? For answer let us go back to the law forbidding ball-playing on the city streets. If we live in the city we know where the city hall is located. That is the place where the mayor has his office, and over which the flag is kept flying. What is done at the city hall? Perhaps we know that the city council or board of aldermen meets there. These men made the law forbidding ball-playing.

CITY LAWMAKERS

Every city has its body of lawmakers, known usually as the city council or board of aldermen. They meet at the city hall, usually as often as once a month, to discuss matters relating to the city. There they make rules or laws governing

the use of the city streets, parks, public buildings, etc. Such laws are known as City Ordinances. Thus, a city ordinance may require bicyclers to have lamps and bells on their wheels while riding in the city after dark. Another ordinance may forbid the driving of automobiles beyond a certain speed limit. Under still others, peddlers are licensed and newsmen and bootblacks are given permission to have stands in the streets.

LAWS IN THE COUNTRY

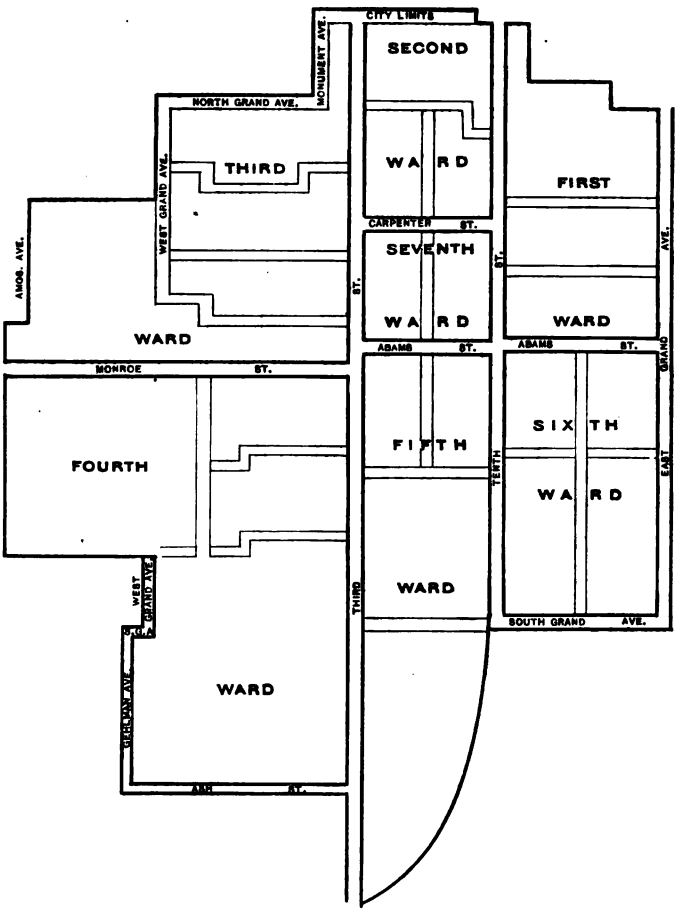
If we live in the country we find ourselves subject to law there also. Thus, in the country, a law forbids us to shoot song-birds. Another law forbids the taking of certain fishes with a net. In some places the law compels the farmers to cut down and destroy thistles and other injurious plants growing along their roadsides. In the country, laws are sometimes made by the voters in the town-meeting, sometimes by town trustees, and sometimes by county commissioners. Every political division, such as the city, village, town, county, state, and the United States, has its own body of lawmakers.

THE RIGHT TO MAKE LAWS

What gives these men the right to make laws? How do they obtain this great power? For answer let us consider again our city board of aldermen. If we look on a large map of our city we shall probably find it divided into districts called Wards. The wards are usually bounded by streets, and each ward has about the same number of people living in it. As a rule, the voters in each ward choose once a year one member of the board of aldermen or city council. Thus, a city of twenty wards might have twenty aldermen. The lawmakers so chosen are said to represent or stand for the people choosing them. Our city ordinances are thus made by *representatives* of the voters. In the same way, laws in the other political divisions are made by lawmakers chosen usually by the voters. In this indirect way the people themselves make the laws under which we live.

HOW LAWS ARE ENFORCED

We saw how the ball-players on the city street scattered at the approach of the policeman. Why did they run? Because they knew it to be



MAP OF SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, SHOWING DIVISION INTO WARDS

the duty of the policeman to arrest persons playing ball on the street. But who appoints the policeman and gives him power to arrest lawbreakers? In some cities policemen are appointed under laws made by the city council. In others they are appointed by officers who act under state laws. The law makes it the duty of the policeman to enforce the city ordinances — that is, to see that these ordinances are obeyed. We have many officers besides policemen whose duty it is to enforce or execute the laws. At the head of the city's law-enforcing officers is the mayor, who is chosen by the voters of the entire city. So each political division has its officers, chosen by its people, to enforce its laws. Chief among these are the village president in the village, the constable in the town, the sheriff in the county, the governor in the state, and the president in the United States.

COURTS AND JUDGES

A person arrested for breaking the law may not be punished at the pleasure of the policeman who arrests him. He must be taken into court and tried for his offense before a judge or a jury.

If he is found guilty of the offense he is then sentenced by the judge to a punishment fixed by the law. In our judges and jurymen, and in our lawyers who prosecute and defend persons accused of crime, we see a third class of public officers who have to do with the law.

THREE DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT

We have now discovered three kinds of public officers. They are, first, those who make laws, such as aldermen, and members of the city council; second, officers who enforce laws, such as mayor and policemen; and thirdly, officers before whom persons accused of breaking the law are taken for trial and sentence, such as the judges of our courts. These three kinds of public officers constitute three departments of government. The first, or law-making officers, are together called the Legislative Department; the second, or law-enforcing officers, are called the Executive Department; and the third, composed of judges and courts, form the Judicial Department.

SUMMARY

To sum up, then, nearly every political division, such as the city, village, town, county, state, and the United States, has its own public officers, chosen by its voters, to make and enforce its own local laws. Thus the city council, or board of aldermen, makes most city laws, and the mayor is at the head of the officers who enforce them. Laws of the state are made by the state legislature[1] and enforced by officers, at the head of whom is the governor; while United States laws are made by Congress and enforced by the President and other executive officers of the United States.

Suggestive Questions

If you live in the city, give the number of your ward. Who represents it in the city council? For how long is he elected?

How many members in your city council? Are any of them chosen by the voters of the entire city?

Is there an ordinance against fast driving in your city? Must street-peddlers get a license to do business in your city? If so, where and how do they obtain it?

If you live in the country, do you know of any bridge over

[1] Sometimes called the General Assembly, General Court, or Legislative Assembly.

which it is an offense to drive faster than a walk? If so, what is the penalty? Who made this law?

What persons may vote in your locality?

What public officers in your locality are charged with the duty of keeping order on the streets?

May a man arrested for drunkenness be locked up at the pleasure of the person arresting him? Or must he be tried and sentenced by a judge?

Name an officer of the Legislative Department. Of the Executive Department. Of the Judicial Department.

Every free government is necessarily complicated, because all such governments establish restraints, as well on the power of government itself as on that of individuals. If we will abolish the distinction of branches, and have but one branch; if we will abolish jury trials, and leave all to the judge; and if we place the executive power in the same hands, we may readily simplify government. We may easily bring it to the simplest of all possible forms — a pure despotism. But a separation of departments, so far as practicable, and the preservation of clear lines of division between them, is the fundamental idea in the creation of all our constitutions; and, doubtless, the continuance of regulated liberty depends on maintaining these boundaries.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

CHAPTER III

VOTERS AND CITIZENS

NEARLY every boy and girl can recall some scenes of election day. If living in a great city, they will remember how days before the voting took place they saw signs in certain windows reading something like this:

> BOARD OF REGISTRY MEETS HERE

Such a sign told that election officers waited inside to take the names and addresses of persons qualified to vote at the coming election.

We remember the crowds about the voting-places when they opened on the morning of election day. Men of all classes — old and young, rich and poor — stood in line, waiting to go in and vote. We remember the counting of ballots at night, when the voting was over, the flaring bulletins announcing the result, the bonfires, and the cheers of the men whose friends

had won. If living in the country, we may recall somewhat similar scenes about the town hall or other building where the voting took place.

It is at elections like these that the voters choose the public officers who make and enforce our laws. At the voting-places boards of aldermen, mayors of cities, governors of great states, and the President of the United States,[1] are chosen by the voters.

WHO MAY VOTE

Not every one is a voter, and the voters have different qualifications in the different states. In every state, however, all male citizens twenty-one years old and over, as a rule, may vote; but criminals in prison and paupers in poorhouses are not allowed to vote. In some states[2] women as well as men may vote. A few states[3] allow no one to vote who cannot read English; while

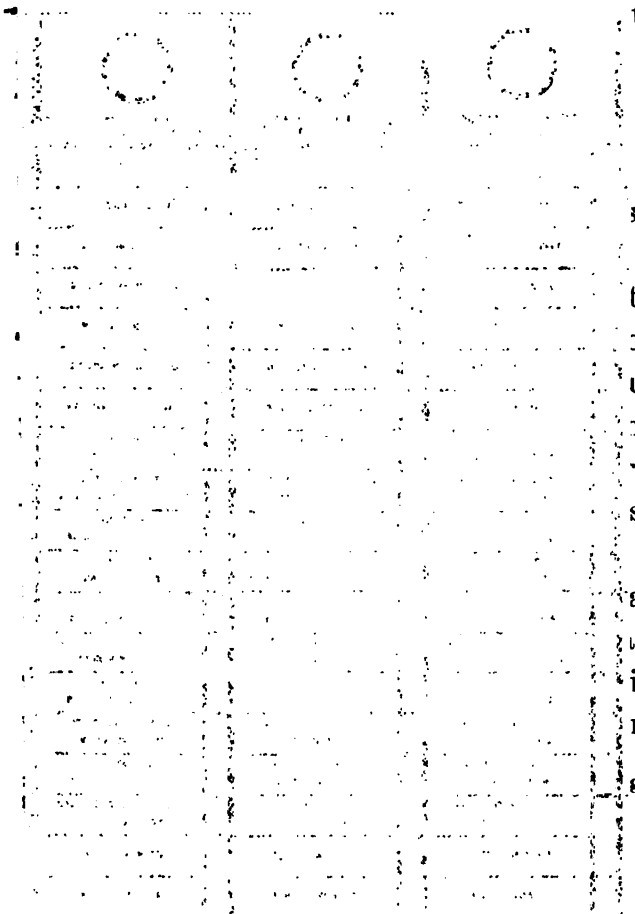
[1] The President is chosen by electors chosen by the voters.

[2] Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Nevada, Montana. In Illinois, women may vote for city and national officers. In several states women may vote for school officers.

[3] Connecticut, Wyoming, California, Delaware, Massachusetts, Maine, Mississippi, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Washington.

axes
nay
tes,
ain
this
are

ays
the
tion
l of
udy
n.
son
s at
or,
ates
tes.
ited
r a
ginia,



had w
some
other

It
choos
our la
men,
and t
chose

Not
differe
In eve
one ye
crimin
are no
as wel
no one

[1] The

[2] Wy
Arizona,
may vot
may vot

[3] Con
Maine, M
lina, Lou

in some others,[1] one must first pay certain taxes in order to vote. In most states no one may vote who is not a citizen of the United States, though some allow aliens[2] who intend to remain here and become citizens, to vote. And this brings us to the question, Who and what are citizens?

WHO AND WHAT ARE CITIZENS?

The Constitution of the United States says that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the states wherein they reside."[3] Let us study these words to find out just what they mean.

According to this a citizen is: (1) A person who is born in the United States, and who is at the same time a subject of the United States; or, (2) a person naturalized in the United States and who is also a subject of the United States. What is meant by a "subject of the United States"? An Englishman, a German, or a

[1] Georgia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Mississippi, Virginia, Rhode Island, Florida, Tennessee, Texas, South Carolina.

[2] An alien is the subject of a foreign government.

[3] United States Constitution, Fourteenth Amendment.

Frenchman, living in his own country, is not a subject of the United States. Neither is such a person traveling in the United States or stopping temporarily here. Why not? Because he intends to make his own country his permanent home, and to be subject to its government and laws. He is, therefore, the subject of a foreign nation and an alien to the United States. But a person born in the United States and remaining here, subject to our laws, is a subject of the United States; and he still remains a subject of the United States while traveling temporarily abroad.

ALIENS MAY BECOME CITIZENS

An alien may become a citizen of the United States by becoming naturalized here. He may be naturalized here by: (1) Living five years continuously in the United States; and (2) taking an oath that he will no longer remain a subject of a foreign government, but that he intends to become a citizen and support the Constitution of the United States.

It may help to make this matter more easily understood if we think for a moment of our class

in school as a little nation having its own government and laws. Every member of our class is a "citizen" of the class and subject to its rules or laws. We may speak of a pupil of another school or class as being an "alien." Such an "alien" may become a "naturalized citizen" of our class by leaving his own class and being admitted as a pupil into ours.

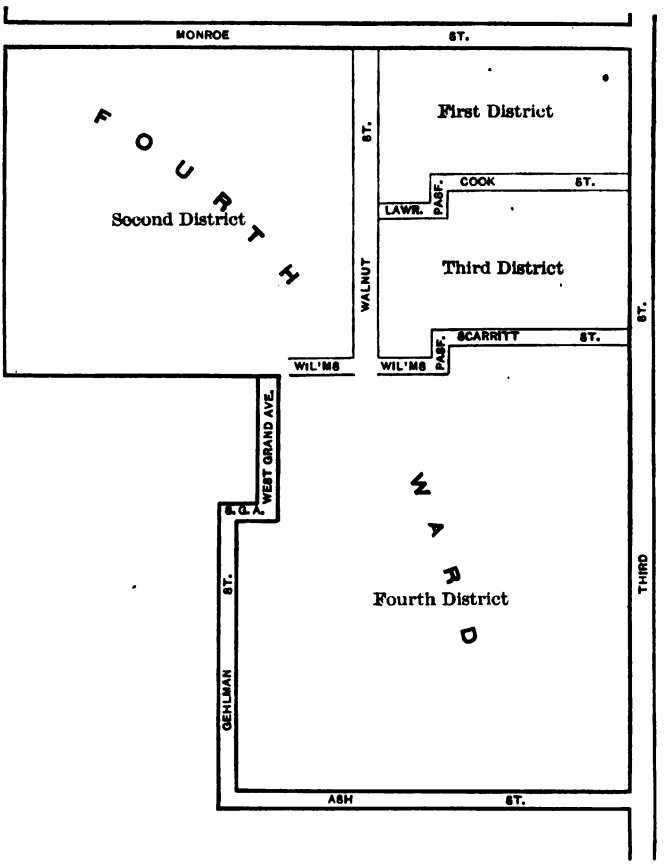
OTHER QUALIFICATIONS

Besides the qualifications for voters already described, most states have a law that one must live a year in the state before voting, and many require the voter to register personally his name and address with the election officers some days before the time of voting. Can you think of any good reason for such a rule?

HOW PUBLIC OFFICERS ARE CHOSEN

Each of the smaller political divisions, such as the town, village, or city, is divided into election districts,[1] and each of these districts has its own voting-place and election officers. These officers register the names of voters in the district,

[1] Sometimes called "election precincts."



MAP OF FOURTH WARD, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, SHOWING DIVISION INTO ELECTION DISTRICTS

take charge of the voting, and count the votes after they are cast. On election day, as each registered voter goes into the voting-place, a printed ballot is handed him, on which are the names of persons nominated for office by the different political parties.[1] The voter takes this ballot into a little booth or stall, closes the door behind him, and, with a pencil, indicates on the ballot the names of the persons for whom he wishes to vote.[2] He then folds the ballot, with the names hidden, comes out of the booth and gives the ballot, still folded, to an election officer, who drops it into the ballot-box. This is the secret or so-called Australian method of voting, now used in most of the states. The person who receives the most votes for a particular office is elected. In this way the voters choose the public officers who make and enforce our laws.

[1] Voting machines are used in many states. These count the votes as they are made, like an adding machine.

[2] See Chapter XV for a further account of this manner of voting.

HONEST AND INTELLIGENT VOTING MAKES FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT

We thus see that the voters, while they do not directly make and enforce the laws under which we live, are yet indirectly responsible for them. If the voters are wise, and select honest and capable men for public office, we shall have good laws, honestly enforced. If, on the other hand, the voters are careless and indifferent in the selection of public officers, if they fail to come out on election day and exercise their right of choice for the men who make and enforce law, they cannot complain if they have bad government.

Suggestive Questions

Where does the voting take place in your locality? Can you give the official names of any of the election officers?

Who may vote?

What is a citizen? May a person who is not a citizen vote in your state?

What is an alien? How may an alien become a citizen?

Why are voters required to register their names with the election officers? Describe the ballot used in your state.

Describe the voting machine, if it is used in your town.

CHAPTER IV

TAXES

We have learned that our laws are made by public officers chosen by the voters. We know also that these laws are enforced or carried out by other officers, some elected, as governors and mayors; and some appointed, as policemen, firemen, and letter-carriers. A few of these officers serve without pay, but most of them must have a regular salary in payment for their work. Where does the money to pay these servants of the people come from? Have you ever thought? Suppose the people of your town or city vote to build a new schoolhouse. Plans must be drawn for the building, and a piece of ground must be purchased for it to stand upon. Brick, stones, lumber, and other materials must be bought. Carpenters and masons must be hired and superintended. All this public work costs money. Where is it to be had? How collected and paid out?

TAXES

Money to pay public officers and to carry on the work ordered by the people is usually obtained in the form of taxes, and no government would last long that did not have power to lay and collect taxes. Who pays the taxes? If your father owns a house, you may know that once a year the tax collector sends him a bill for his share of the tax money to be raised in your city, town, or village. If he is a farmer, he pays taxes on the value of his farm. If he is a merchant with a large stock of goods in his store, he may be called upon to pay a tax on the value of his goods. Thus, everybody owning valuable property is supposed to be taxed in proportion to its value. May we not say then that the owners of valuable property pay the taxes necessary to carry on the work of government?

EVERYBODY PAYS TAXES

Directly, yes, the property owners do pay the taxes; but, indirectly, everybody is a taxpayer. How is this? Suppose you live in a rented building. The landlord charges you rent. The landlord pays taxes on the value of the building;

so he charges you more in rent than if he had no taxes to pay. Thus every rent payer is in reality a taxpayer. You buy a pair of shoes of a merchant. The merchant has his store in a rented building. He helps to pay taxes on the building when he pays rent to the landlord. He may also have to pay a tax on his stock of shoes. He adds these taxes which he pays to the price of the shoes which he sells. So every time you buy a pair of shoes you help to pay the taxes of the landlord and the shoe dealer. You cannot buy any article without helping to pay the taxes necessary to carry on the work of government.

Our schoolhouses, our finely paved streets, our parks, bridges, and other public conveniences, our governors, judges, mayors, policemen, and other public officers, are paid for by all the people. Everybody pays a share. So when you hear it said of a proposed unnecessary piece of public work, or of the creation of some new and needless office: "Never mind; the cost will come out of the pockets of the property owners," you will understand that this is not true. For you know that everybody must help to pay the cost of useless as well as useful public work.

HOW TAXES ARE LAID

Each city and town is usually a district for collecting taxes. In each tax district officers known as assessors [1] are chosen — in the country districts usually by the voters, in the city usually by the mayor or board of aldermen. The assessors make a list of all the valuable property [2] in their particular tax district, with the names of its owners. They then divide the total amount of money to be raised as taxes by the total value of the taxable property in the district, in order to find the tax rate. Suppose, for example, your city wishes to build a schoolhouse to cost $10,000, and suppose that all the houses, lands, and other taxable property in the city are worth together $10,000,000. Then one dollar's worth of property will pay a tax equal to $10,000, the cost of the proposed schoolhouse, divided by $10,000,000, the value of the taxable property. This is a tax of $.001 on the dollar. Suppose your father owns a house and lot valued by the assessors at $3,000. He will then pay taxes for

[1] Sometimes called tax commissioners.

[2] Churches, schoolhouses, and some other kinds of public property are not taxed.

the new schoolhouse equal to 3,000 times $.001, or $3.

COLLECTING THE TAXES

When the assessors have decided on each person's share of the taxes, a collector, sometimes elected by the voters, sometimes appointed, sends a bill to each property owner required to pay a tax. If the property owner neglects or refuses to pay his tax the collector may have the services of policemen, sheriff, or other public officers to seize the property and sell it, and to take the tax out of the price which it may bring.

IMPORTANCE OF HONEST AND COMPETENT TAX OFFICERS

In all this we see the importance of having honest and able officers to assess and collect the taxes, so that no one shall be required to pay more than his just share, and so that no one who ought to pay may escape taxation. The assessors, especially, should be men of sound judgment and integrity, whom no hope of personal reward can induce to undervalue the property of the wealthy and more powerful taxpayers.

OTHER KINDS OF TAXES

Besides the taxes collected from the owners of valuable property there are others, collected at the custom houses, on articles brought into the United States from foreign countries. These are the so-called "tariff" taxes. Still others are collected from manufacturers and dealers in such articles as distilled liquors and prepared tobacco. These are known as "excise" taxes. In many places the first cost of streets, street lamps, sewers, etc., is collected as a special tax from the owners of the land benefited by the improvements. In some places, also, every male resident[1] is taxed a certain sum each year to keep up the roads. Such a tax on the man is called a "poll tax," that is, a tax on each head or "poll."

THE DUTY TO PAY TAXES

It is everyone's duty to pay his reasonable share of the taxes. The law protects all, and all should be willing to help support the public officers whose duty it is to enforce law. Public

[1] Clergymen, old soldiers, and some others are not required to pay the poll tax.

works, such as streets, parks, and schoolhouses, are for the benefit of all, and no honorable man would think of shirking his share of their expense. Suppose the boys in your class buy a fine tennis set or a baseball and bat. Suppose two or three of the boys refuse to pay their share of the cost, yet insist on using the tennis set and the bat and ball. You would think these boys very mean. You would probably not allow them to share in these amusements. Yet these boys are like grown people who make use of public improvements and are protected by the laws, yet try to escape from paying their just share of the taxes.

PUBLIC OFFICE A PUBLIC TRUST

There is another side to the question of taxes. This is the side of the public officers who often decide how much of the people's money shall be collected and spent as taxes. It is the duty of every such officer to put himself in the place of the taxpayer, and to be wise and economical in his spending of the people's money. He holds his office as a trust for the benefit of all the people. It should not be his business to find easy

places in the public service for his political and personal friends that they may live in comfort off the hard-earned money of the taxpayers. It is his duty, instead, to see that all public work is performed as cheaply and honestly as he would have his own work done. An office-holder who does not keep this view of public service in mind is not worthy of the votes of his fellow-citizens.

SUMMARY

We have now learned several important things:

1. That we must have laws to protect persons and property, to preserve peace and order, and to direct the doing of needed public work.

2. That these laws are made and enforced by public officers chosen by the voters of the different political divisions, such as the city, village, town, county, state, and the United States.

3. That the public officers of a political division, together with its laws, constitute the government of the division.

4. That to pay public officers and carry on the work ordered by the voters, money is collected from the people in the form of taxes.

5. That no political division can reasonably

expect to be well governed and its taxes wisely and economically spent unless its voters choose honest and capable public officers.

Suggestive Questions

Why is it necessary to pay taxes? From whom are taxes collected?

What officers in your locality lay and collect the taxes? Are they elected by the voters, or appointed by other officers?

Should a person who owns no property be required to pay taxes? Give a reason for your answer.

What are "tariff" taxes? "Excise" taxes? What kind of men should be chosen to estimate the value of property for purposes of taxation? If a property owner neglects or refuses to pay his taxes how may they be collected?

For what reason ought equality to be the rule in matters of taxation? For the reason that it ought to be so in all the affairs of government. A government ought to make no distinction of persons or classes in the strength of their claims on it. If any one bears less than his fair share of the burdens, some other person must suffer more than his share. Equality in taxation, therefore, as a maxim of politics, means equality of sacrifice. It means the apportioning of the contribution of each person toward the expenses of government, so that he shall feel neither more nor less inconvenience from his share of the payment than every other person experiences from his. — John Stuart Mill.

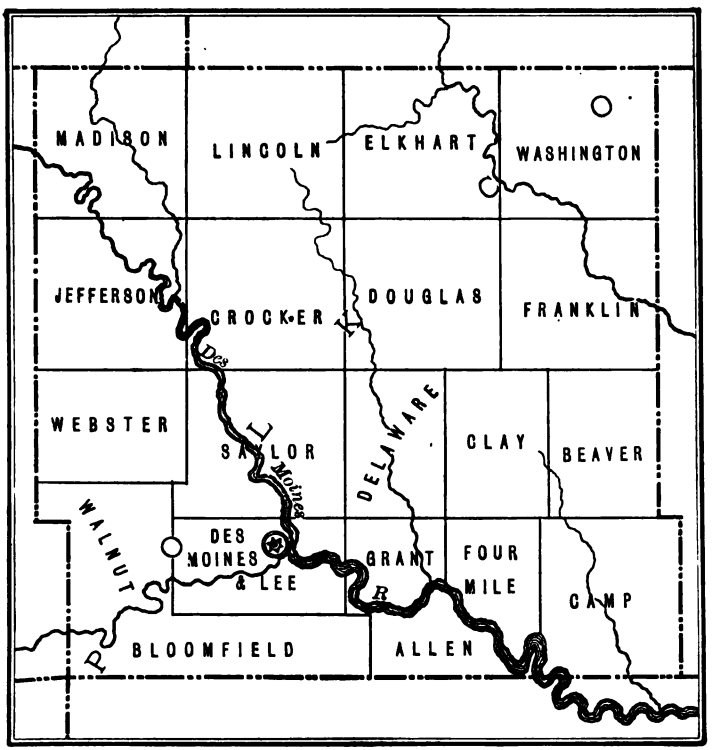
CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT IN THE TOWN

If we live in the country, outside of a city or large village, our schoolhouse probably stands in what is known as a township or town. If we start from the schoolhouse and travel off in a straight line in any direction for three or four miles we shall come to the borders of another township or town. These two words, "town" and "township," mean about the same thing. Let us try and find out just what they mean.

THE WESTERN TOWNSHIP

If we live in a Western State we shall probably find our township to be about six miles long and six miles wide, containing about thirty-six square miles. How did this come about? More than one hundred years ago, when our country was new, and the wolf and buffalo roamed over its great central plains, most of the land west of the Allegheny Mountains belonged to the United States. It was not cut up into states as now.

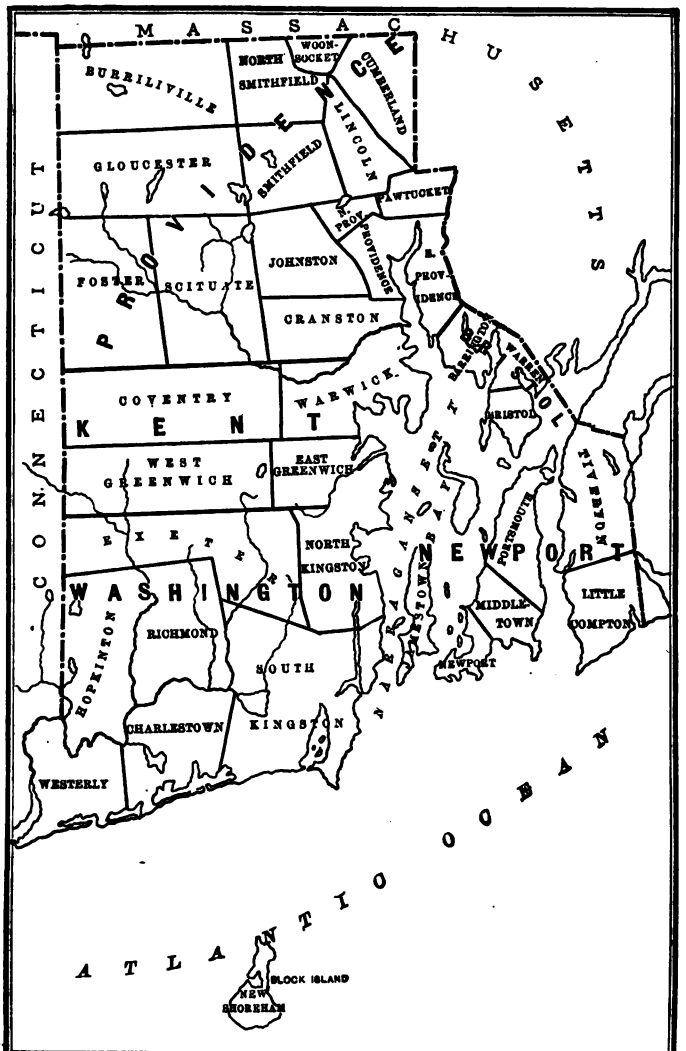


MAP OF POLK COUNTY, IOWA, SHOWING DIVISION INTO TOWNSHIPS

For the convenience of people who wished to settle in this new country the Congress of the United States ordered the land surveyed. This was done, and the whole territory, both prairie and wild forest land, was cut up into squares, each six miles long and six miles wide, like squares on some gigantic checker-board. Each square of land so surveyed was called a township. When the people from the East began to pour over the mountains, filling this western country with farms and settlements, it was gradually divided into states; but the little square townships, surveyed by order of Congress, have remained to this day.

THE TOWN IN THE EAST

In most of the Eastern States towns were not laid out in squares; but each town was formed gradually, with irregular boundaries, as the Dutch and the Pilgrim Fathers crossed the Atlantic and settled along the streams and in the pleasant valleys of New York and New England. They settled together in groups of families for their mutual protection from savage animals and the Indians. Each settlement usually had



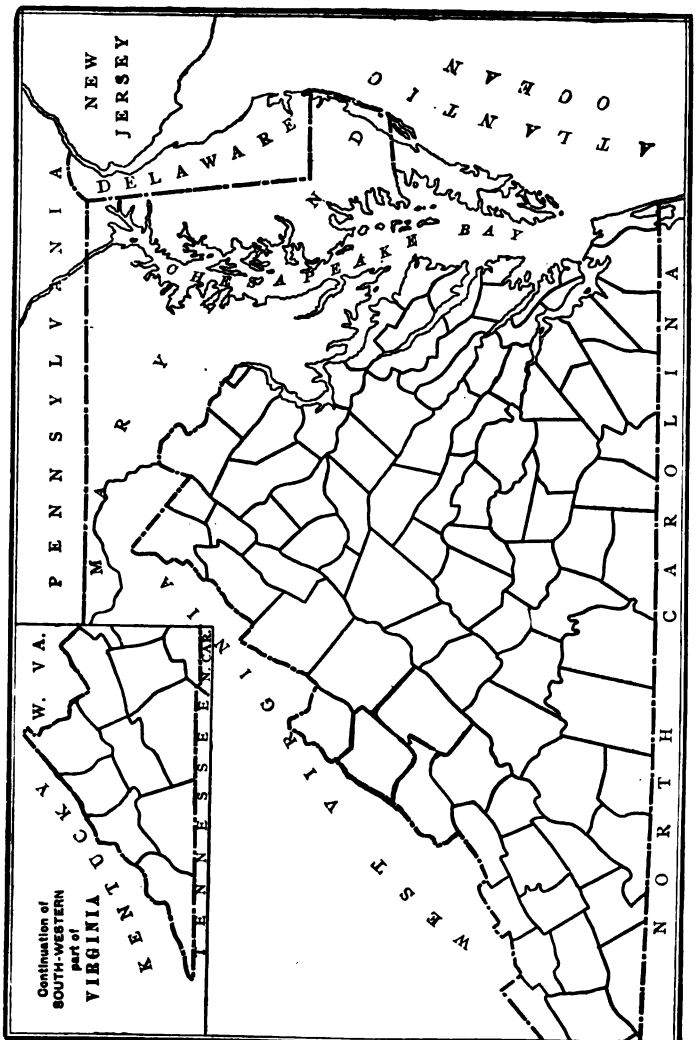
MAP OF RHODE ISLAND, SHOWING TOWNS

its own schoolhouse and church. Its men laid out roads between its farms and fields, and organized themselves into a company of soldiers for its defense. Such a settlement was known as a town. The voters of the town made their own town laws, chose officers to enforce them, and voted taxes upon the property owners to pay for roads and bridges, and the support of the church and the school.

SETTLEMENTS IN THE SOUTH

In the Southern States, in what are now Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, the people who came from Europe did not, as a rule, settle in small groups as in New England. The soil of the South was favorable for raising cotton and tobacco, and each settler of consequence soon had numbers of slaves who were set to work on large plantations, often miles apart. Thus the Southern States grew up with few, if any, towns like those of New York and New England. The people of the more thinly settled South united, instead, for purposes of government, in the larger area of the county.[1]

[1] See Chapter X, page 96, for a description of the county.



MAP OF VIRGIN'A. SHOWING DIVISION INTO COUNTIES

WHY A TOWN NEEDS LAWS

Why do the people of a town need town laws? We have more than hinted at the answer. Suppose the road running past our schoolhouse should get out of repair. Suppose a bridge should wash away. Suppose the schoolhouse itself should be destroyed by fire. What would be done? The men of the town would have to turn out, repair the road, rebuild the bridge, erect a new schoolhouse. Who would call out these townsmen? Who would direct their work? Who would supply materials for the road, the bridge, the schoolhouse? Who would pay for them? There must be laws relating to all such matters. In New England, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and some other northern and western states, the voters of the towns make such laws in what is known as the town-meeting.

THE TOWN-MEETING

In town-meeting, all the voters of the town come together in the town hall or some other meeting-place. They choose a presiding officer and a clerk or secretary to keep a record of the

meeting. Then if a new bridge is needed, or if money is needed to repair a road or to build a schoolhouse, some voter may rise in the meeting and propose that the necessary money be raised and spent. Other voters then speak on the matter. When all who wish to speak have been heard, the president calls for a vote, "yes" or "no," on the question. If the majority present vote in favor of the proposition, it becomes a town by-law[1] — that is, a law of the town.

TOWN EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

But the people in town-meeting do not simply vote to repair a road, build a bridge or schoolhouse, and stop there. At every regular town-meeting, usually held once a year, in the spring, the voters elect town executive officers to enforce the by-laws and carry on the public work of the town. These officers are given different names in the different states. Thus, in the towns of New England the chief executive officer is the selectman; in New York, Illinois, and Michigan he is the supervisor; while in Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa he is called the town trustee.

[1] The word "by" in by-law is from a Norse word meaning town.

WHERE NO TOWN-MEETING IS HELD

In many states this work of the town or township is planned and carried on without calling the voters together in a regular town-meeting. Thus, in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and some other states, the voters choose town officers known as supervisors or trustees. To these officers are left almost entirely the planning and management of the town's public work and the making of its by-laws.

DIRECT AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

These two kinds of town government — with the town-meeting and without it — are examples of what is known as direct and representative democratic [1] government. In the town-meeting, where the voters vote directly, "yes" or "no," on matters of interest to the town, we have an example of direct democratic government, that is, government directly by the people. Where, on the other hand, the voters choose town trustees to represent them, and then give to

[1] The word "democratic" comes from the Greek word "demos," meaning the people.

these chosen representatives the power to make town by-laws, we have an instance of representative democratic government. Under which do you think the voters are apt to be more interested in the work of their town? Under which do you think the taxes are apt to be spent more wisely and economically?

SOME OTHER TOWN OFFICERS

Town auditors examine the accounts of those who handle money of the town. School directors [1] manage the public schools. Road commissioners have charge of roads and bridges.[2] Pound keepers take charge of stray animals. Fence viewers decide disputes about boundary fences.[3] Election officers have charge of the voting. Most of these officers are chosen by the voters. They have different names in the different states. Their term of office is usually a year. Their pay comes out of the town taxes.

[1] Called school committee in Connecticut.

[2] In Connecticut the selectmen have charge of the roads and bridges, except where the towns vote to have a road commissioner. The state roads are in charge of the State Highway Commissioner.

[3] Duty of selectmen in Connecticut.

OFFICERS OF JUSTICE

Disputes between the townsmen may be taken before a justice of the peace elected by the voters of the town. The justice hears the statements of both parties in the dispute and decides the matter according to the rules of law. In this work the justice may be aided by a jury, usually of six men, summoned from among the townsmen. When a law is broken the justice may order a constable, an officer also elected by the voters of the town, to arrest the offender and bring him before the justice. Here he may be tried with or without the aid of a jury. If found guilty, the justice sentences him to be punished according to law. The trial of disputes at law and of persons arrested for crime is described in Chapter XIV.

THE TOWN A MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

The voters of the town are given power by the state law to act together, as if they were a single person, in matters relating to the government of the town. Thus the people of a town, acting through their officers, may buy, own, and sell houses, lands, and other property for town pur-

poses. They may sue and be sued in a court of law. They may collect debts due to the town. In the same way the town must pay what it owes. This power of the people of a town to act as a single person, in matters relating to town affairs, is known as the town's corporate power, and the town itself is known as a municipal corporation. Look in the dictionary for the meaning of the words "municipal" and "corporation." Ask the teacher to explain them.

Suggestive Questions

Do you live in a township or in a town? Is it in the form of a square, or has it the irregular boundaries of one of the earlier settlements?

How are town by-laws made in your locality? What is the difference between direct and representative democratic government? Which do you have in your town? If you have the town-meeting, is it held as a single meeting or is it held at several different voting places in the town?

How are taxes assessed and collected in your town? By what officers? For what purposes?

What does the town clerk do? The town auditor? The justice of the peace? The constable? How many justices are elected in your town?

Name a legislative officer of the town. An executive officer. A judicial officer. What officers have charge of schools in

your locality? Who hires the teacher? How is money to carry on the schools assessed and collected?

Here on this rock, and on this sterile soil,
Began the kingdom not of kings, but men,
Began the making of the world again.
Here centuries sank, and from the hither brink
A new world reached and raised an old world link,
When England's hands, by wider vision taught,
Threw down the feudal bars the Norman brought,
And here revived, in spite of sword and stake,
The ancient freedom of the Wapentake.
Here struck the seed — the Pilgrim's roofless town,
Where equal rights and equal bounds were set,
Where all the people equal-franchised met,
Where doom was writ of privilege and crown,
Where human breath blew all the idols down,
Where crests were naught, where vulture flags were furled
And common men began to own the world.

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT IN THE VILLAGE

MANY of us live in villages.[1] Have you ever thought how a village grows up? At first the land on which it stands may have been just a part of the thinly-settled township or county. Two roads may have met here. A farmer may have built a dam across a little stream just at this place and erected a mill. His neighbors bring him their corn and wheat to be ground into meal and flour. They bring logs to be sawed into lumber. The farmer hires other men to work in his mill. These must have houses near the mill. A blacksmith joins the little settlement; then a shoemaker. Other houses are built. A cabinet-maker next opens a shop. He hires men to help him. All these need houses. A store is opened, a bakery, and

[1] In many Southern States an incorporated village is known as a "town," in others it is called a "borough," which originally meant a strong or fortified place. In Connecticut some towns have a modified or enlarged form of town government granted by special act of the General Assembly. In Connecticut the village organization is called a borough.

a butcher shop. A schoolhouse is built, then a church. A doctor opens an office. A post-office follows, then more stores and shops, and almost before we know it a village has grown up, containing several hundred people.

WHY A VILLAGE HAS A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT

At first this village is just a part of the township or town. Its people attend town-meeting, vote money for roads and bridges, and help to elect town officers. But as the village grows the people find that they need other conveniences than those of the thinly-settled township. They need sidewalks and street lamps. They wish better streets than the ordinary country road. They must have water brought in pipes from nearby springs into the streets and houses. They must have sewers to carry off the waste. They must have a fire engine to put out fires. They must have police officers to protect the village from disorderly persons. Few, if any, of these things are wanted by the farmers of the thinly-settled country. Therefore it would not be right to ask these farmers to help pay for them. What, then, is to be done? The people

of the village must have a government of their own, to provide these village conveniences.

ESTABLISHING VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

When the people of the village reach the point where they feel the need of a separate government, they petition the state or county officers for a charter, giving them permission to set up such a government.[1] The charter is a written or printed paper in which are laid down the boundaries of the proposed village. It describes in outline the village government, states what officers the village may have, and describes their powers and duties. As soon as the charter is given, an election takes place, and village officers are chosen by the village voters. These officers have charge of the streets, lights, sewers, waterworks, and other public property of the village.

THE VILLAGE LAWMAKERS

Village lawmakers are chosen, usually once a year, by the voters. Like the city council, they make by-laws or ordinances for the government

[1] It is customary, in most states, to give the people of a village a charter as soon as they have reached a certain population and have complied with certain forms of state law.

of the village, to preserve peace, order, and health therein. Thus, the lawmakers may forbid fast driving in the village. They may forbid the throwing of refuse in the streets. They may compel the people to build sidewalks. They may forbid bicyclers from riding on these walks. They may make almost any by-law that can be shown to be for the peace, comfort, and safety of the village. The lawmakers have power, as given in the charter, to lay a tax on persons and property in the village in order to enforce its by-laws and carry on its public work. The lawmakers are given different names in the different states. In some they are known as the village aldermen, in others as the village council, in still others as the village board of trustees.

VILLAGE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

A village president or mayor is chosen, usually once a year, by the village voters. It is his duty to enforce the village laws, and for that purpose he may appoint policemen and other subordinate officers. Other village officers, as assessors, collector, treasurer, and clerk or recorder, are chosen by the voters or appointed by the village

council. Each of these has duties in the village government quite similar to the duties performed in the town by officers of the same name.

THE VILLAGE COURT

A person arrested for breaking a village ordinance may be taken before a village police justice, who has powers quite similar to those of the justice of the peace in the town. The police justice, like the justice of the peace, may summon a jury to aid him in the trial of offenders against the law.

THE VILLAGE A MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

The village, though a part of the town, for purposes of town government, is, like the town, an independent municipal corporation. Its voters may, through their officers, act together as a single person in matters relating to its government.

GOOD AND BAD VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

From what we have learned it is easy to see that the health and comfort of the people who live in the village depend, to a considerable ex-

tent, upon the kind of men chosen by the voters as village officers. If honest and capable men are chosen to manage the village property and to make and enforce the village laws, we may expect to find clean and well-kept streets, good lights, abundant and wholesome water, attractive parks and public buildings, and a general air of comfort and prosperity in the village. At the same time, no money collected as village taxes will be misplaced or wasted. If, on the other hand, the voters are careless and indifferent, if they choose self-seeking and incompetent officers, there is sure to be mismanagement and waste. We shall be apt to find the streets of such a village dirty and out of repair, its water not the best, its lights of poorer quality or more expensive than those of its neighbors, its schoolhouses crowded and dirty. Yet the people may be paying more than enough in taxes to give them a first-class village government. How necessary, then, in the interest of the health and comfort of every villager, that only able and honest men be selected as village officers! How may boys and girls help in this important matter?

SUMMARY

A village may have a government, for village purposes, independent of the town or county in which it stands. This government is outlined in the village charter. A village having a charter form of government is said to be an incorporated village.

The people of an incorporated village, while living under their own village government, are at the same time subject to the governments of the town and county in which the village stands. They may still vote at town and county elections, and they must still pay town and county, as well as village taxes.

The village lawmakers are the village aldermen, council, or trustees. The village president or mayor is its chief executive officer, and the police justice is its chief judicial officer. The village, like the town, is a municipal corporation.

Suggestive Questions

Is your village governed under a special charter, or is it incorporated under a general law of the state?

What officers have charge of streets and sidewalks in your village? Are they elected or appointed?

How are important improvements, like the putting in of

electric lights, or the establishment of village water-works, decided upon in your village? If left to a vote of the villagers, may all citizens vote, or only the taxpayers?

Name any officer or officers whose duty it is to enforce the ordinances in your village. How are these officers chosen?

What was the last tax rate for village purposes in your village? How does this compare with the rate in other near-by villages? What officers in your village fix the tax rate? How are they selected?

The grass is green on Bunker Hill,
The waters sweet in Brandywine;
The sword sleeps in the scabbard still,
The farmer keeps his flock and vine;
Then who would mar the scene to-day
With vaunt of battle-field or fray?

The brave corn lifts in regiments
Ten thousand sabers in the sun;
The ricks replace the battle-tents,
The bannered tassels toss and run.
The neighing steed, the bugle's blast,
These be but stories of the past.

The earth has healed her wounded breast,
The cannons plow the field no more;
The heroes rest! O, let them rest
In peace along the peaceful shore!
They fought for peace, for peace they fell;
They sleep in peace, and all is well.

Lo! peace on earth. Lo! flock and fold.
Lo! rich abundance, fat increase,
And valleys clad in sheen of gold.
O, rise and sing a song of peace!
For Theseus roams the land no more,
And Janus rests with rusted door.

JOAQUIN MILLER.

CHAPTER VII

CITY GOVERNMENT: SOME THINGS IT DOES FOR THE PEOPLE

We will suppose that our village, described in the last chapter, has grown into a city. Its few hundred feet of pavement have become miles of paved and macadamized streets. These are lighted by hundreds of gas and electric lamps. Above them is a network of telegraph, telephone, and electric light wires. Along the streets swiftly moving trolley-cars come and go in every direction. Under them are miles of water-pipes, bringing water from the city reservoir into every street and dwelling. Alongside of these water-pipes are miles of sewer-pipes to carry off the waste. Gas-pipes with thousands of private connections are also under the pavements. A small army of men is kept busy caring for these streets, pipes, and sewers. Another small army stands ready at the sound of the alarm to rush out with engines and horses and protect the city from fire. The city owns many schoolhouses

and other public buildings. There is a public hospital, a public library, there are public baths, parks, and playgrounds — all supported by the city. Everywhere we see policemen in uniform patrolling the streets, and looking after the protection of persons and property.

How is all this vast and wonderful public activity directed? Who provides and maintains these many conveniences that are free to all? Our answer is, the city government. Is not a government, having such great powers for good or evil, worthy of our careful study?

THE CITY STREETS

When we go into a strange city, what is it that first attracts our attention? Is it not the arrangement and condition of the streets? The streets of a city are of first importance to the comfort of its people. Why? Because they are the primary means of the communication of its inhabitants with one another. The streets are to the city what the veins and arteries are to the human body. They provide a means for the circulation of its life force. How necessary, then, that a city's streets should be well planned

and well kept; that the pavements should be smooth, clean, and durable; that they should be well lighted at night; that they should be at all times as free as possible from discomfort and disorder. A matter of first importance, then, in every city government, is a competent department of streets, to provide new highways for the growing population, and to take care of those already existing.

THE CITY WATER

Next in importance to the streets of a city is, we may say, its water supply. In the country every farmer may have his own well or spring to supply his household with pure water. Not so in the city. Here thousands of people are crowded together in small space, often far from good water. But water they must have in abundance, for drinking, cooking, and washing, for turning the wheels of huge factories, for putting out fires, for street-sprinkling, and scores of other purposes. The people of a city must often go miles away to some lake or river for pure and sufficient water. They must build reservoirs, and put in costly machinery for

pumping the water into high-service towers, that it may be distributed with the proper force through pipes to the upper floors of the dwellings. All the time careful watch must be kept to maintain the water pure and fit for drinking. The city must have its department of water-supply to look after these matters.

THE CITY'S WASTES

Quite as important as supplying the city with pure water is the means by which the city gets rid of its waste-water. The housekeeper in the country may throw her waste-water out of the kitchen window, where it is taken care of by sun and earth. But what would happen should everybody in the city throw his waste-water out of the windows! In olden times this used to be a common practice, and we are told that in the great city of London, where there were then no street lamps, "after nightfall a person went out at his peril, for chamber windows were opened and slop pails unceremoniously emptied down." No wonder London's streets were "filthy beyond description"! The streets of Paris were in much the same condition, and it

is said that on a rainy day a person who stepped into the street went up to his ankles in mud. No great city would to-day tolerate such conditions. As the pure water comes into the houses through pipes, so the waste must be taken away by a system of pipes and sewers. And this waste must be carried where it will not become offensive or dangerous to the people's health. How best to take care of a city's wastes is a problem upon which many skillful engineers are still studying.

THE CITY'S LIGHTS

We have spoken of the city's lights. These must be sufficient in number, and good enough in quality to keep the streets well lighted at night, and to light both public and private buildings. Crime works in the dark, and well-lighted streets are usually safe streets. The city government must see to the proper lighting of streets and public buildings, and if the city does not manufacture and supply its own light, it must provide a way by which private companies may lay pipes and wires through the streets.

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

A very important matter is the means of travel. We must be able to move quickly and safely from one part of the city to another. This is now accomplished largely by means of street railroads owned by private corporations. The city officials make rules in accordance with which tracks are laid in the streets and cars run to accommodate the people. But no private company should be allowed to use any street or other city property unless the company agrees to serve the best interests of the people. If a railroad company be given permission to use the streets, the city officials should see that the company binds itself to run enough cars to accommodate the people and to charge a reasonable fare. The cars must not be allowed to run at a dangerous speed, and they must be provided with fenders and other safety appliances. The company should be required to pay a reasonable price for its use of the streets. This privilege of using public property, given by the city to a private corporation, is known as a franchise. Many people believe that city franchises should be given for short terms of years, so that when

renewed the city may make at the end of each period terms most advantageous for the people.

THE CITY'S HEALTH

Where thousands of people are gathered together in a city, there are always many who are careless and indifferent of the health and comfort of their neighbors. Careless storekeepers sell unwholesome food. Milkmen peddle watered and dirty milk. Icemen sell ice that is filthy and full of the germs of disease. Careless householders throw their refuse into the streets; factories pollute the air with thick black smoke; street peddlers disturb the peace by loud and unnecessary noises. Were everybody allowed thus to impose upon his neighbors, health and comfort would greatly suffer. The city government, therefore, has a department of health whose important duty is to protect the people from such unwholesome conditions. When a contagious disease, such as smallpox, measles, or scarlet fever, breaks out, the health department aims to prevent its spread by such means as vaccination and the seclusion of persons who have the disease. As many diseases flourish where dirt and filth

accumulate, the health department aims to make the people keep their premises clean. It does this in order to protect the life and health of every person, and no one should consider it a hardship when the health inspector comes around and orders him to " clean up."

POLICE AND FIRE PROTECTION

We have already spoken of the city's police and fire departments. In both, brave men are daily risking life and limb for the protection of the people. A city whose government does not provide proper police and fire protection cannot be considered a well-governed one.

THE DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS

A good city government includes a department of buildings, with officers paid to see that houses, stores, and factories are built safely and strongly, and in a way to protect their occupants from danger by accident and disease. In the country every man may have his little house built much as he pleases. If it tumbles down or burns up, his family alone will suffer. But in a great city, where thousands of people live in rented tene-

ments and work in buildings which they may never hope to own, it is the duty of the city government to see that these buildings are made and kept safe and fit for occupancy and use. No house-owner should complain when city officials order him to put up necessary fire escapes, and no tenant should feel aggrieved when told to keep these fire escapes clear of obstructions and ready for instant use.

PARKS, SCHOOLS, AND PLAYGROUNDS

The department of parks and the department of education perform very necessary work in the government of the city. Every boy and girl knows that without schools and the means of recreation life would be far less worth living than it now is. Boys and girls can help themselves and also help in the good government of their city by making proper use of its schools, parks, and playgrounds.

Suggestive Questions

Why does a city need clean and well-paved streets?

Name four public uses for city water. Is water supplied to the people of your city by a private company or by the city government? What is the rate of payment for this water?

How are garbage and other refuse collected in your city — by city employees or by a private contractor? What is done with such refuse?

Give two reasons why a city should be well lighted. Does your city own its lighting system, or is light supplied by a private corporation? What is the rate of payment? Do you know upon what terms the street railroad companies are allowed to use the streets in your city?

Why does a city need a department of health? Name three duties of this department. What are some of the duties of the department of buildings? The department of parks? The department of education?

Not in the solitude
Alone may man commune with Heaven, or see
Only in the savage wood
And sunny vale the present Deity;
Or only hear His voice
Where the winds whisper and the waves rejoice.

Even here do I behold
Thy steps, Almighty! — here amidst the crowd
Through the great city rolled.
With everlasting murmur, deep and loud —
Choking the ways that wind
'Mongst the proud piles, the work of humankind.

Thy spirit is around,
Quickening the restless mass that sweeps along;
And this eternal sound —
Voices and footfalls of the numberless throng —
Like the resounding sea,
Or like the rainy tempest, speaks of Thee.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

CHAPTER VIII

CITY GOVERNMENT: HOW IT IS CARRIED ON

In the last chapter we learned some things that a city government may do for its people. Let us now see how the public work of a city is carried on.

THE CITY CHARTER

When a boy outgrows his clothes he gets a new suit to fit him. Something quite similar happens when a village grows into a city. The people, having outgrown the simple form of village government, put on the more complex form of city government. This is outlined in the city charter. In our study of the village we learned that the charter is a written or printed form of government given to its people by the lawmakers of the state or county. But as the city is larger than the village and must do vastly more work for its people, so its charter is usually a much longer and more complex document than the

charter of the village. The charter describes the boundaries of the city, its different departments of government, and outlines the powers and duties of its officers. Some of our wisest lawyers have given much time and thought to the framing of city charters. We may consult a copy of our city's charter at the mayor's office.

THE CITY LAWMAKERS

The charter always provides for a body of city lawmakers. These, as we have learned, are the city council or board of aldermen. They are elected by the voters of the city, and they have general care and oversight of its public property, such as streets, sidewalks, sewers, parks, water-works, schoolhouses, and other public buildings. The council makes rules or laws, which are known as city ordinances, for the management and use of this city property. Thus the city council may make a law that no bicycle shall be ridden after dark without a lighted lamp; that all sidewalks shall be made of stone or cement; that automobiles and other vehicles shall not be driven faster than a certain specified rate of speed; that no wooden buildings

shall be erected in those parts of the city known as its "fire limits"; that street peddlers must obtain a written license or permission to do business; that no person may throw refuse into any street or park. These are but a few instances of the many matters upon which the city council or board of aldermen has power to make laws.[1] In most cities the council has power to lay a tax on the property owners to enforce city ordinances and carry on its public work.

THE GRANTING OF FRANCHISES

A very important duty of the city council, as we have seen, is the permission which it sometimes gives to bodies of men, known as corporations, to use the streets and other property of the city for certain semi-public purposes. Thus the city council may give a street railroad company permission to lay rails and run cars through the streets. It may give a lighting company permission to lay pipes, erect street lamps, and

[1] In many cities portions of this law-making work are taken from the council and given to the different city departments, as the department of parks, the department of health, the department of public works, etc.

supply the people with gas. It may give a water company power to lay water-mains and supply the city with water. Such permissions, as we learned in the previous chapter, are known as franchises. They are usually given by the city council for a definite number of years, although some councils have been known to give private companies the use of the streets forever.[1] As the streets and other public property of a city belong to all its people, no city council should give their use to a money-making corporation without making the best possible bargain for the people in cheap rates and excellent service. Some councils give franchises only on condition that the privileged corporation pay each year a certain portion of its earnings into the city treasury.

CHOOSING CITY LAWMAKERS

The city, as we have learned, is generally divided into districts called wards. The voters in each ward usually elect, once a year, one or more

[1] The New York City board of aldermen gave the Broadway Surface Railroad Company an interest in Broadway which the Court of Appeals held to be perpetual. This was a gross abuse of the rights of the people.

members of the city council. Thus, if a city have twenty wards, and each ward elect two councilmen, the city council may contain forty members. Sometimes, however, the voters of the entire city elect a certain number of councilmen-at-large, who, together with those chosen from the wards, make up the council. With the great power which the council has over the affairs of the city, is it not supremely important that only wise and honest men be chosen as councilmen? An able and honest council can do much to make a healthful, comfortable, and prosperous city. On the other hand, careless and dishonest councilmen, by laying heavy taxes and mismanaging the city's public work, may do much to decrease the happiness and prosperity of the people. The voters cannot be too careful in selecting men for the city council or board of aldermen. This board is sometimes spoken of as " the city fathers," and the very word " alderman," coming from the old English word, " Ealdorman," meaning elder (or older) man, reminds us of a time when only the older and wiser men of a city were chosen as its lawmakers.

THE MAYOR AND HIS POWERS

Laws may be made, but laws are of little value unless they are enforced. So the charters of our cities provide that the voters shall elect a mayor, whose chief duty is to enforce law within the city. The word "mayor" comes from the Latin "major," and means higher or greater. The mayor is the highest officer in the law-enforcing or executive department of the city government. With the consent of the city council, and sometimes without, the mayor may appoint heads of the different city departments, policemen, and other subordinate officers.[1] The mayor may also have power to remove as well as appoint city officials. Besides these important powers, he is usually given power to prevent the passing of unwise or unjust laws by the city council. This is done by what is known as the "mayor's veto." The word "veto" also comes from the Latin, and means "I forbid." The mayor vetoes a proposed city ordinance by forbidding it to become law. A proposed ordinance may

[1] Policemen and many minor officers are usually appointed after passing civil service examinations held to determine their fitness for the positions.

be passed over the mayor's veto by two-thirds[1] of the city councilmen voting in its favor. It then becomes a law in spite of the veto. Many people think that the mayor should be given still greater powers. They would have him appoint and remove all heads of city departments, such as the chief of police and the heads of the fire and health departments, without the consent of the council. In this way, it is claimed a good mayor may do much to secure good city government in spite of the opposition of a bad city council. A better remedy is for the voters to see that only honest and able men are elected to the council.

CITY COURTS AND JUDGES

Each city usually has its own courts and judges before whom persons accused of breaking the city ordinances are taken for trial and sentence. The same courts often try persons accused of minor offenses against the state. In the latter case the city court acts as an agent for

[1] In some cities three-fourths, or even five-sixths, of the councilmen must vote for an ordinance to pass it over the mayor's veto. In New York City an ordinance involving the granting of a franchise cannot be passed over the mayor's veto.

the state. In the same courts disputes between persons are heard and settled as before a justice of the peace. The judges of the city courts are sometimes elected by the people and sometimes appointed by the mayor and council.

CITY AND STATE

We have discovered that the people of a city are allowed their own city government only by consent of the state lawmakers as given in the city charter. An important question now being discussed is how far the people of a city should be allowed "home rule," that is, power to have their own local government independent of the state lawmakers. There are two sides to this question. In so far as the city government is a business affair, supplying the people with clean and comfortable streets, good lights and water, and comfortable home conditions generally, the city should be allowed the largest measure of "home rule." This is only fair and right, because the people of the city understand better than the state lawmakers their own local needs, and, besides, they alone are taxed to make city improvements. On the other hand, where the

city government acts as an agent for enforcing state laws, there is no question that the state lawmakers should have a general oversight over its work. City officials are often called upon to enforce state laws against crime, in aid of the poor, for the support of education, and in the interest of public health and morals. It is only right that in these matters the state should supervise the work of the city. Again, the state may be called upon to protect the people of the city from the folly and mismanagement of the city officers. This is done by the operation of such state laws as that which forbids a city to run into debt beyond a certain per cent (usually ten per cent) of the value of the property within it, subject to taxation. Other questions relating to the powers of the city are discussed in Chapters XIII and XIV of this book.

Suggestive Questions

What is the city charter? How is it obtained? Who gives it?

What are some duties of the city council or board of aldermen? What officers lay taxes on the property owners of a city in order to carry on its public work? Is there any law in your state limiting the amount of taxes that may be thus laid?

What is a franchise? Who grants city franchises?

What are some of the duties of the mayor? What is the "mayor's veto"?

What is meant by "home rule" when applied to a city?

What I wish first to insist upon is the essential worth, nobility, primacy indeed, of the liberal pursuit of politics. It is simply the highest, the most dignified, the most important of all earthly objects of human study. Next to the relations of man with his Maker, there is nothing so deserving his best attention as his relation to his fellow-men. The welfare of the community is always more important than the welfare of any individual or number of individuals; and the welfare of the community is the highest object of the study of politics. The course and current of men in masses is the most exalted of human studies, and that is the study of the politician. To help individuals is the business of the learned professions; to do the same thing for communities is the business of politics. — WHITELAW REID.

CHAPTER IX

STATE GOVERNMENT: HOW IT CAME ABOUT, WHAT IT DOES FOR THE PEOPLE

EVERY schoolboy knows something of the state in which he lives. He knows its boundaries as laid down on the map. He can name and locate its capital. Perhaps he knows the name of its governor. What is the state? Why do we have state government?

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

All who have read in history an account of the Revolutionary War and of George Washington know something of the original Thirteen Colonies.[1] The flag of our country has thirteen stripes, one for each of these colonies. Before the Revolutionary War the thirteen colonies were governed largely by the king of England. Yet the people of each colony, through their representatives, taxed themselves to pay for

[1] New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

roads, bridges, schoolhouses, and other public improvements. The men united in companies of soldiers to defend the colonies from Indians and other foes, and each colony had its charter given by the king, which allowed it a certain amount of self-government, and its assembly of lawmakers chosen by its voters.[1]

THE COLONIES BECOME STATES

We know how King George III of England tried to tax the people of the colonies without their consent; how the king sent soldiers across the Atlantic to enforce his demands; how the colonies joined hands against the king in the Revolutionary War; and how on July 4, 1776, their representatives in the Continental Congress declared the colonies "free and independent states." If we live in what was one of the original Thirteen Colonies, this explains how our state came into existence. If we live in a state which was not one of the original thirteen, how it came into existence is quite another story.

[1] The colonial assembly was usually composed of two bodies or "houses." The "upper house," known as the governor's council, was usually appointed by the king. The "lower house," or assembly proper, was composed of members elected by the voters of the colony.

HOW OTHER STATES HAVE BEEN FORMED

We will suppose that we live in a state which is not one of the original thirteen — in Ohio, Kentucky, or California, for instance. In that case our state was formed from territory that once belonged to the United States. Its people were governed by the national Congress which sits at Washington. As the people increased in number they felt the need of a state government of their own. They asked Congress to allow them to set up such a government. Congress consented, and the people chose delegates to a convention called to form a constitution for the proposed state. This constitution, after being agreed upon by the voters, was sent to Congress, which, finding it in harmony with the Constitution of the United States, accepted it as the constitution of the proposed new state. The President of the United States then declared the new state admitted as a member of our national Union. Such is the origin of states which have come into the Union since the original thirteen.

WORK OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT

What does the state government do for the people? First, it is its business to keep order — to make the state a safe and peaceable place to live in. This it does by making and enforcing laws against crime and disorder. It makes laws to protect us from such crimes as fraud, theft, assault, and murder. Thus, officers acting for the state punish drunkards, thieves, and murderers. Most laws that regulate personal relations and deal with property are state laws. Thus it is a state law under which husband and wife marry and live together. State law gives parents the control of their children. State law protects the farmer in the possession of his farm, and the merchant in the ownership of his stock of goods. Under state law schoolhouses are built, teachers hired, and children sent to school. The state provides asylums for the insane and superintends the care of paupers in towns, cities, and counties. If a man refuse to pay his just debt, the state provides a way by which he may be brought into court and made to pay. We have already learned that the state gives charters to villages and cities, and that it

outlines the form of town and county government. It would take a large book to set down the many ways in which the state regulates and controls our daily actions in the interest of justice, peace, and public comfort.

THE STATE CONSTITUTION

We have already discovered that a very important part of the state government is the state constitution. Every state has its constitution. What is the constitution? If you belong to a baseball club you know that the game is played according to certain rules. If you are a member of a debating society you know that its business is carried on according to rules that have been agreed upon by the members. These rules of club or society are sometimes spoken of as its constitution. In the same way a great state has its general plan of government, or its rules, under which it acts. This plan, and the more important of these rules, or laws as we call them, are laid down in the state constitution. The constitution is, then, for the state quite like the charter for the village and the city.

THE CONSTITUTION MADE BY THE PEOPLE

If the boys in your class wished to form a debating club, one of the first things they would do would be to appoint three or four boys as a committee to draw up a set of rules for the government of the proposed club. After the committee agreed upon the rules they would be reported to the club. The members would then discuss them one by one and vote, "yes" or "no," upon the question of accepting them. The rules, if accepted by the club, would form its constitution. In much the same way, as we have learned, the voters of a state choose delegates to a convention whose purpose is to form a state constitution. When the convention has agreed upon a constitution for the state it is submitted to the voters of the state at a regular election. Here the voters vote, "yes" or "no," on the proposed constitution. If a majority vote "yes" the constitution is accepted and becomes the law of the state.[1] The constitution, besides containing the general plan or outline of state government, names the more

[1] Constitutions are amended or changed in much the same way as they are originally adopted.

important state officers and describes their powers and duties. We may find a copy of our state constitution at the public library, or in the office of any good lawyer.

Suggestive Questions

Is your state one of the original thirteen, or was it formed from territory that once belonged to the United States?

Describe the way in which states are formed and admitted into the Union.

What is the state constitution? How is it formed? How accepted by the people? What does the constitution contain?

What constitutes a state?
Not high-raised battlement or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No: men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
These constitute a state. — Sir William Jones.

CHAPTER X

GOVERNMENT IN THE STATE: HOW IT IS CARRIED ON — THE COUNTY

We have seen that the voters of the state make its more important or fundamental laws when they agree to the state constitution. But the laws in the constitution are few in number as compared with the great body of state laws. Many new laws are made every year in carrying on the vast public business of the state. What are some of these laws? If we look in a volume of our state statutes, to be found in any lawyer's library, we may see some of these laws. Here are the titles of a few, taken at random from the statutes of a single state for a single year.[1] There are two volumes for the year and this one alone contains over 600 new state laws:

"To amend the town law," "To make the treasurer of Broome County a salaried office," "To create a court in the city of Poughkeepsie," "To amend the forest, fish, and game law," "To

[1] Laws of New York, 1902.

provide for the improvement of public highways," "To incorporate the city of Fulton," "To amend the county law relating to fire districts," "To provide for the enrollment of members of political parties in towns," "To amend the public health law," "To amend the domestic relations law relating to the rights of married women," "To lay out, establish, and regulate a public driveway in the city of Troy."

We see from these titles how manifestly impossible it would be for the voters of a great state to make all of its necessary laws. The voters have neither the time nor the knowledge. Besides, it would be practically impossible for them to meet as a lawmaking body. The voters have left, therefore, the making of most state laws to a special body of lawmakers known as the State Legislature.[1]

STATE LAWMAKERS

Each state is divided into districts, as the city is divided into wards, and the voters in each district choose, once in every one or two years, one

[1] The State Legislature is given different names in the different states. Thus in Massachusetts and New Hampshire it is called the General Court. In Connecticut and in many other states it is called the General Assembly.

member of the state legislature.[1] The legislature meets at the state capitol, and it is composed of two bodies or "houses." The larger or "lower house" is usually called the Assembly, or House of Representatives. The smaller or "upper house" is known as the State Senate. The members of the lower house are usually chosen for a shorter term of office than the members of the senate.

HOW STATE LAWS ARE MADE

A state law must be agreed to by a majority of the members of each house of the legislature; and some important laws that require the spending of much of the people's money must be agreed to, in some cases, by two-thirds or more of the members of both houses. When a proposed law has been agreed to by both houses of the legislature, it is sent to the governor of the state.[2] Like the mayor, the governor may veto a proposed law. If vetoed, it may be repassed over the veto, usually by a two-thirds affirma-

[1] In some states the legislature meets every year, but in most states it meets every two years. In Connecticut it meets every two years.

[2] A proposed law is called a "bill."

tive vote of both houses of the legislature. It then becomes a law.

WHY A LEGISLATURE OF TWO HOUSES

Why is the legislature composed of two bodies or houses? One reason for it is because the old colonial assemblies were composed of two bodies — the governor's council and the assembly. Our state legislatures have followed their example. Another reason is found in the fact that two houses delay the process of lawmaking, and so may prevent the enactment of many unwise laws. A bad bill passed in one house will often be "killed" in the other.

STATE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

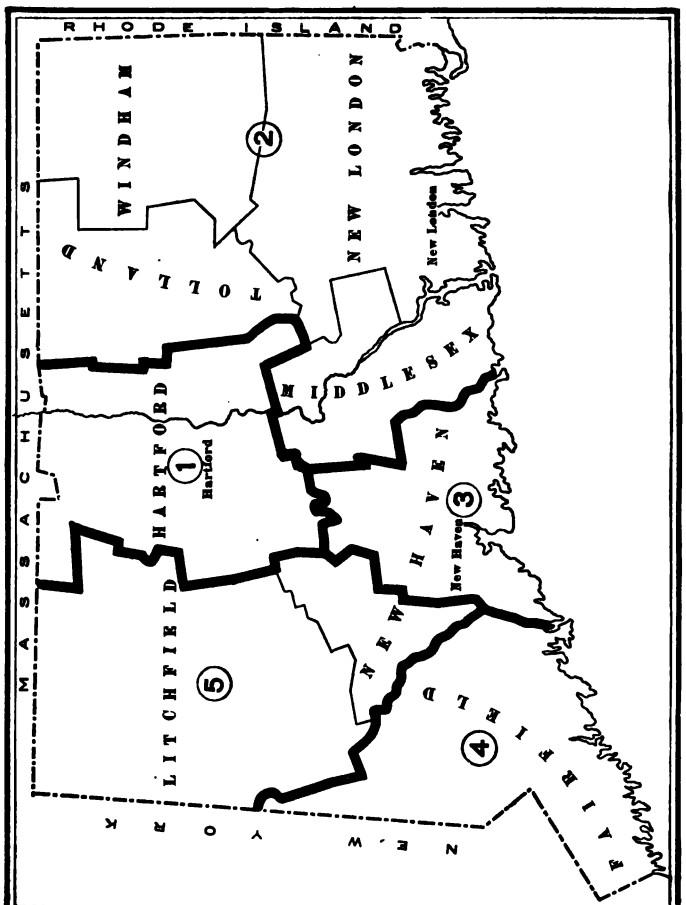
The laws of the state are enforced largely by officers chosen by the voters of the entire state. At their head is the governor, already mentioned. The governor appoints many subordinate officers. He is at the head of the military forces of the state, and he may call out any regiment of state militia to suppress disorder and enforce the law. Important officers aiding in the work of enforcing and administering the law are:

The lieutenant governor, who takes the place of the governor when the latter is unable to act; the secretary of state, who keeps important records; the state treasurer, who keeps and pays out moneys of the state; the state comptroller, who audits bills against the state and looks after its accounts; the attorney-general, who assists in bringing criminals to justice and who acts as the legal adviser of the other state officials; and the state superintendent of public instruction,[1] who has general oversight of the schools in the state. All these officers have their headquarters at the state capitol, and most of them are chosen for terms of two or three years each, by the voters of the state.

STATE COURTS AND JUDGES

Like the town, the village, and the city, the state has its own courts and judges. State courts are higher than those of the smaller political divisions, and questions decided in these lower courts are often carried up, on appeal, to the state courts. The highest court of the state

[1] In Connecticut called the Secretary of the State Board of Education.



MAP OF CONNECTICUT, SHOWING DIVISION INTO FIVE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS (THE SMALLER DIVISIONS ARE COUNTIES)

is usually known as the Supreme Court.[1] It is usually composed of from three to nine judges[2] who are, as a rule, chosen by the voters of the entire state. This court sits at the state capitol, and its judges hold office for terms of from six to fourteen years each.[3] An important duty of this court is to decide whether laws passed by the state legislature are in accord with the constitution. If the court finds a law to be not in accord with the constitution, that is, to be "unconstitutional," it is void, and no man is bound to obey it. We shall learn more of the work of these courts in the chapter on "Going to Law."

THE STATE DIVIDED INTO COUNTIES[4]

The state, as we have already learned, is divided into districts called counties. (See map,

[1] In New York it is called the Court of Appeals.

[2] Five in Connecticut.

[3] Eight years in Connecticut.

[4] No separate chapter is given in this book to county government, principally because the county is so largely an administrative division of the state, its main purpose being the carrying out of state laws. This does not seem so much the case with the town and its modified forms, the village and the city. Towns were formed, as a rule, before the colonial governments, the colonies in many cases resulting from a union of the towns. Counties, on the other hand, were created by the colonial governments at first largely as convenient court districts.

page 95.) This is largely for convenience in carrying out the law and performing certain kinds of public work. The county, which originated in England, has a very interesting history. Hundreds of years ago England was not, as now, governed by a single king. It was divided into a number of small kingdoms. These small kingdoms united, after a time, in a single government, and their former rulers became earls or counts under the king of England. The former little kingdoms were then known as "shires" (meaning shares of the greater kingdom), or counties.[1] Each county had its own county court, headed by the sheriff (from "shire reeve," meaning head man of the shire), who was the king's agent for collecting taxes in the county. The Englishmen who emigrated to America very soon set up county government in the thirteen colonies. As in England, so in America, each county had its county court and its sheriff, who acted as agent for the colonial government.

In New York and in New England, as we

[1] Called counties because they resembled the districts in France which were governed by counts.

have learned, the people settled in small groups, forming towns. But this was not the case in Virginia and the other Southern colonies. There most of the settlers lived far apart on large plantations. They did not set up town government. They modeled their local government, instead, after the English county. As in England, each county had its county court, and its voters usually sent a representative to the colonial legislature. New York and New England, though settled in towns, were soon divided into counties, largely because the county furnished a convenient court district.

GOVERNMENT IN THE COUNTY

Each state[1] is to-day divided into counties, and each county has a government of its own, with legislative, executive, and judicial officers. There are two methods of choosing county lawmakers. In some states three or more county commissioners are chosen by the voters of the county.[2] These commissioners make county laws and, in some cases, act as a county court.

[1] Except Louisiana, which is divided into parishes.

[2] In Connecticut three commissioners for each county are appointed by the General Assembly for four years.

In other states the county lawmaking body is composed of the supervisors — one from each town or city ward in the county. When organized for county purposes they are known as the county board of supervisors. The principal county executive officers [1] are the sheriff, county clerk, county treasurer, state's attorney,[2] county superintendent of the poor, and county superintendent of schools.[3] The duties of most of them may be inferred from their official names. They are usually elected for terms of two or three years each by the voters of the county.

THE SHERIFF

The sheriff is the chief executive officer of the county. It is his duty to see that peace and order are maintained within the county. He

[1] Connecticut has no county clerk, county superintendent of the poor, or county superintendent of schools. In Connecticut — (*a*) the public records of deeds and mortgages are kept by town clerks; (*b*) most towns have a "town house" for the poor, but the county has a "county house" for poor children; (*c*) a town may have a superintendent of schools, or two or more towns may have the same superintendent.

[2] Sometimes called "district attorney."

[3] In New York there is no county superintendent of schools, but the state is divided into school commissioners' districts, the schools in each district being under the supervision of a commissioner.

may appoint deputies to help him, and he may also call any citizen to his aid if necessary to preserve peace or enforce the law. If still unable to enforce law and order, the sheriff may call upon the governor to help him with the state militia. Criminals are arrested by the sheriff and his deputies, and the former has charge of the county jail, where accused persons are locked up to await trial and sentence. The sheriff also has charge of property which has been ordered by the courts to be sold for debt. So important is he in carrying out the orders of the court that he is sometimes spoken of as "the arm of the judge."

THE STATE'S ATTORNEY[1]

This officer is a public prosecutor of criminals. Although elected by the voters of the county, he is largely engaged in enforcing the laws of the state against crime and disorder.

THE COUNTY COURT

This is composed in some states of the county commissioners, one of whom acts as a presiding

[1] In Connecticut a state's attorney is appointed by the judges of the Superior Court for each county.

judge. In other states the county court consists of a single county judge, elected by the voters of the county.[1] Most criminals are tried in this court, the state's attorney acting as the prosecutor. Here, also, are heard and decided more important disputes than those coming before the justice of the peace. Appeals from decisions of the county court may be made to the higher state courts.[2]

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

We have now learned that the people of the town, village, city, and county have each their own local government, existing largely for the purpose of doing certain kinds of local public work. While the work of these governments is performed almost entirely by local officers, the governments themselves are carried on according to state laws. Although these local governments are in a strict legal sense created by the state, their real life depends on the people of the localities which they serve. The voters of the

[1] In Connecticut the Superior Court and the Court of Common Pleas, whose judges are appointed by the governor, act as county courts.

[2] See Chapter XIII.

town, village, city, and county may make their local governments good or bad, a help or a burden, according as they choose competent or incompetent local officers, and then hold or neglect to hold them to the proper performance of their work.

Suggestive Questions

How are state laws not found in the constitution enacted? Name and describe the two " houses " of your state legislature. How are the members of each " house " chosen? For what terms of office? Give an account of the governor's veto. What do we mean when we say that a law is " unconstitutional "?

Name four executive officers of your state government, and describe the duties of each.

Name the highest court in your state. Where does it sit? How many judges compose it? Are they appointed or elected? For what terms of office?

How many counties in your state? How are counties formed? Describe the origin of the county in England.

Are your county laws made by commissioners or by the board of supervisors? Name and locate your " county seat."

Name six executive officers of the county. Describe the work of the sheriff, the county clerk or recorder, the state's attorney, the county court.

CHAPTER XI

GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES: HOW IT CAME ABOUT, WHAT IT DOES FOR THE PEOPLE

In our study of government in the different political divisions we have seen that the voters everywhere, directly or indirectly, make and enforce their own laws. In the town-meeting, we saw them agree directly, " yes " or " no," to proposed laws. So in the adoption of state constitutions. In the city council, county board, and state legislature, we saw the voters indirectly make the laws through their chosen representatives. In the same way we have seen that nearly all laws are enforced by representatives of the voters. Thus, everywhere we find the voters behind the different local governments and responsible for them. The same is true of the greater government of the United States. We have such a government because the voters, through their representatives, have agreed to it. Where and when was this agreement made?

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

This agreement was first made in the Declaration of Independence. A Congress chosen by the voters of the thirteen colonies met at Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War, and took steps to raise an army to defend the colonies against the army of Great Britain. On July 4, 1776, the members of this Congress, acting as "representatives of the United States," and by authority "of the good people of the colonies," declared the colonies "free and independent states."[1] This was the Declaration of Independence, whose adoption we celebrate every Fourth of July.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

In its next step Congress agreed to a form of government for the United States. The agreement was made November 15, 1777, when Congress adopted "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States." These were sent to representatives of the people in the state legislatures and accepted by them. The last legislature to accept the Articles did so

[1] From the Declaration of Independence.

March 1, 1781, nearly five years after the Declaration of Independence.

A WEAK NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Articles of Confederation gave the people a form of national government, but it did not prove satisfactory. It was too weak to hold the thirteen states together successfully. Under it the states quarreled with one another. Some refused to pay their share of taxes necessary to carry on the national government, and the government was too weak to make them pay. States taxed articles coming into them from other states. This hindered trade and prevented the close union necessary to a strong national government.

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

At last the people saw that they must have a stronger national government. The state legislatures chose delegates to meet in convention, May, 1787, at Philadelphia, to form such a government. It was attended by some of the ablest men in the United States. Washington was its president, and among its members were Frank-

lin, Madison, and Hamilton. After much discussion, the convention agreed upon the form of government known as the Constitution of the United States. This Constitution, with but few changes since it came from the convention of 1787, may be found in any school history of the United States.

ADOPTING THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution was at once sent to the different states. There it was discussed in conventions chosen by the voters. When conventions in nine states agreed to it, the Constitution became the law. It went into effect March 4, 1789, and under it George Washington was chosen the first President of the United States.

THE WORK OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

What does the government of the United States do for the people? In the town we saw government caring largely for roads and bridges. In the village we saw it supply paved streets, sidewalks, street lamps, and water-works. In the city we saw greater quantities of these necessary public works supplied. We saw state and

county governments combine to keep order and protect the people in the enjoyment of their lives and property. We saw the state with other local governments furnishing a free public school education for every child. What is there left for the government of the United States to do? Many things. And these may be found in the Constitution of the United States. As we read this Constitution, we find that the United States does those things that can be done best by a government greater and more powerful than the governments of the state and its smaller political divisions.

CARRYING THE MAIL

First and very important among the things done by the government of the United States is the collection, carrying, and distribution of the mail. Formerly, letters were carried by private persons, and it cost twenty-five cents to send a letter from New York to San Francisco. Now, the United States Government takes it for two cents. It carries so many millions of letters for short distances, at a cost to itself of less than two cents, that it can afford, in the interest of the

people, to lose money on its long-distance letters. No private company could compete with the United States in this public service. Many people think the government should add the telegraph to its post-offices and so give the people a better and cheaper telegraph service. This is done by most European governments.

THE UNITED STATES REGULATES FOREIGN INTERCOURSE

The United States regulates the trade of our people with foreign countries. This it does by tariff laws, imposing taxes on imported goods, and by reciprocity treaties, allowing goods from certain foreign countries to come into the United States free or at a low rate of taxation, when these nations give the same privilege to us. Such treaties are bargains made between the different governments as agreements are made between two or more people. Under similar treaties foreign governments surrender escaped criminals to the officers of the United States, and we return the favor. The United States Government admits foreigners to citizenship here, and also keeps out of the country certain undesirable

persons, such as criminals and paupers who come from other countries. The same government controls our United States army and navy and protects our coasts by forts and lighthouses. It alone may make war upon a foreign nation. In order to communicate with foreign governments the United States sends ambassadors to reside at their capitals, while other United States officials, known as consuls, are kept in foreign ports to look after the interests of our citizens when abroad.

THE UNITED STATES COINS AND ISSUES MONEY

If we look at the next coin or piece of paper money that comes to hand we shall probably find on it the stamp or imprint of the United States. No state or other local government may coin money or issue paper money. This power belongs to the United States alone. The money of the United States consists of gold and silver coins, gold and silver certificates, and "greenbacks." The last three are of paper. Every dollar of United States money, whether of paper or of coin, may be exchanged for any other dollar. The paper dollars pass from hand to

hand equally well with the gold dollars, because the United States Government stands ready at any time to give a gold dollar in exchange for one of its paper dollars. Bank bills or notes are not, in a strict sense, money, for people are not obliged by law to take them in payment of any debt; but bank bills are accepted as equal in value to money of similar denominations, because the government compels the banks to deposit with it its own government notes or promises to pay, which are payable in gold, and which may be sold at any time, if necessary to make good the bank bills.

POWER OF THE UNITED STATES TO LAY TAXES

We have discovered that no government would be worth much that had not the power to impose taxes and collect them from its people. So the Constitution gives the United States Government this power, including the power to borrow money. United States taxes, as we have learned, are mostly collected, not as direct taxes upon the value of property, but as a " tariff " on imported goods, and as excise taxes on certain manufactured articles.

GOVERNMENT OF UNITED STATES TERRITORY

Of course, territory belonging to the United States, and not cut up into states, as Alaska, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, is governed by laws made by the United States Government. The District of Columbia, where the city of Washington is located, is under the same government. So are all shipyards, forts, and other military and naval reservations of the United States.

OTHER POWERS OF THE UNITED STATES

Article I, Sections 8 and 9, of the United States Constitution, recite more in detail these powers and duties of the United States Government. Every student who wishes to understand the relations between this government and the governments of the states should read carefully the Constitution of the United States.

Suggestive Questions

What body adopted the Declaration of Independence? By whose authority?

Why were the Articles of Confederation a failure as a form of national government?

When was our present Constitution formed? By what body? How was the Constitution adopted?

Name four things done by the United States Government which a state government may not do. What is a treaty? How is it made? What are ambassadors? Consuls?

Name the different kinds of United States money. Why is one kind as good as another? Who makes laws for the government of United States territory?

Let, then, the rising generation be inspired with an ardent love for their country, and an unquenchable thirst for liberty, and a profound reverence for the Constitution and the Union. Let the American youth never forget that they possess a noble inheritance, bought by the toils and sufferings and blood of their ancestors, and capable, if wisely improved and faithfully guarded, of transmitting to their latest posterity all the substantial blessings of life, the peaceful enjoyment of liberty, of property, of religion, and of independence. The structure has been erected by architects of consummate skill and fidelity; its foundations are solid; its compartments are beautiful as well as useful; its arrangements are full of wisdom and order; and its defenses are impregnable from without. — JOSEPH STORY.

CHAPTER XII

HOW UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS CARRIED ON

How does the government of the United States do its work? Like the state and the other local governments, it works in three departments, — legislative or lawmaking, executive or law-enforcing, and judicial.

CONGRESS

The chief power in the lawmaking department of the United States is Congress. Congress meets regularly, once a year, in the national capitol building at Washington. Like the State Legislature, it is composed of two bodies or houses. The upper house is the United States Senate. This is composed of two senators from each state. They are chosen for terms of six years each by the voters of the state. The lower house is the House of Representatives. Representatives are chosen by the voters, and each state sends representatives to Congress in pro-

portion to its population. Thus New York, with a population of 9,113,614, sends forty-three representatives; Connecticut, with 1,114,756 people, sends five representatives; Arizona, with 204,354 people, sends one representative to Congress. There are now 435 members of the House of Representatives. Its members are elected for terms of two years each, and they are usually chosen from congressional districts. Each state entitled to more than one representative is divided into congressional districts,[1] and the voters in each district choose, once every two years, a representative for the district.[2]

HOW UNITED STATES LAWS ARE MADE

Congress makes laws for the entire United States. Thus, laws taxing goods brought into the United States from foreign countries are made by Congress. So is the law fixing the time that a foreigner must live in the United States before becoming a citizen. When a law has been agreed upon by a majority in both

[1] See map, page 95.

[2] Representatives-at-large are sometimes elected by the voters of the entire state.

Senate and House of Representatives, it is sent to the President of the United States. If the President approve it, he signs it and returns it to Congress. If he does not approve it, he may, like the governor of a state, veto it.[1] If he veto a bill it does not become law unless Congress repasses it over the veto by two-thirds of the members of each house voting in its favor.

THE PRESIDENT

Laws of the United States are enforced by executive officers, at the head of whom is the President. He is chosen once in every four years by electors, who are themselves chosen by the voters of the states. The voters of a state choose as many electors as it has United States senators and representatives. Thus New York, with forty-three representatives and two senators, has forty-five presidential electors.[2] The

[1] Bills remaining for ten days unsigned in the hands of the President while Congress is in session become laws without his signature. But if Congress adjourn before the expiration of the ten days and a bill then remains unsigned, it fails to become law. The failure of the President to sign such a bill is called a "pocket-veto."

[2] See page 164 for table of United States senators, representatives, and presidential electors.

electors meet at the different state capitals in the January after their election and vote for President and Vice-President of the United States. Those receiving a majority of the votes of the electors are chosen. If no one receive a majority, the members of the House of Representatives choose the President and Vice-President. The President, with the consent of the Senate, appoints many subordinate officers. He may also remove officers appointed by him.[1] He is the head of the army and navy, and may direct these powerful bodies, in both peace and war, to carry out the laws of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET

The work of enforcing and administering the laws of the United States is carried on in ten departments. The heads of these are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, and together are known as the President's Cabinet. These are the departments, with their heads, and a brief outline of the work of each:

[1] Many subordinate officers are appointed as the result of civil service examinations, held to determine their merit and fitness. These may not be removed, as a rule, except for cause.

The Department of State, headed by the Secretary of State, carries on the official intercourse of the United States Government with foreign governments. **The Treasury Department,** headed by the Secretary of the Treasury, has charge of the money matters of the national government. **The War Department,** at the head of which is the Secretary of War, has charge of the army. **The Navy Department,** under the Secretary of the Navy, controls the navy of the United States. **The Department of the Interior,** headed by the Secretary of the Interior, has charge of public lands of the United States, of patents, pensions, and Indian affairs. **The Post-Office Department** is headed by the Postmaster-General. **The Department of Justice** is headed by the Attorney-General, who prosecutes persons accused of breaking United States laws. **The Department of Agriculture,** under the Secretary of Agriculture, looks after the interests of the farmers. **The Department of Commerce,** headed by the Secretary of Commerce, aids in the development of commerce and the industries. **The Department of Labor,** under the Secretary of Labor, looks after the interests of the laboring classes.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT

This officer presides over the United States Senate. He takes the place of the President,

should the latter die or become unable to perform the duties of his office.[1]

UNITED STATES COURTS AND JUDGES

The United States Government has its own courts and judges. Persons accused of breaking United States laws are tried before these courts. So are disputes which involve United States law. Thus, a person accused of robbing the mail would be tried in a United States court, but one accused of ordinary theft, such as picking a pocket, would be tried in a state court. Highest of all the United States courts is the Supreme Court. It is composed of a chief justice and eight associate justices. They are appointed by the President and hold their offices for life or during good behavior. This court has the important duty of deciding whether laws passed by Congress are in accord with the Constitution of the United States. It has thus been a powerful

[1] Should both the President and Vice-President die or become unable to perform the duties of President, the following officers, if qualified, would act as President in the order named: 1, Secretary of State; 2, Secretary of the Treasury; 3, Secretary of War; 4, Attorney-General; 5, Postmaster-General; 6, Secretary of the Navy; 7, Secretary of the Interior.

force in determining the work of the government through its explanations and interpretations of different parts of the Constitution. Below the Supreme Court are the United States Circuit and District Courts, with judges appointed by the President. Attached to all these courts are United States marshals, whose duty it is to arrest criminals and carry out the orders of the courts.

DIVISION OF THE WORK OF GOVERNMENT

We have now studied the work of government in the United States and in its different political divisions. We see that the government of each division has its own special work to do. The work of government has been thus divided by the voters through the constitutions, state and national. As we come to study the United States Constitution we shall see this division made still clearer. We shall find that the voters, through this Constitution, have given certain definite specified powers to the United States Government, to be exercised by it alone. Thus, the United States Government has control over our foreign relations, and no state or other local

government may make any law respecting them.[1] So the United States alone may coin money and have an army and a navy. All powers not specifically given to the United States Government by the Constitution are left to be exercised by the states and their local governments, except those powers which the voters, through the Constitution, have reserved to themselves, and forbidden any government to exercise.[2] We thus see that the voters are back of all the different governments and responsible for them. They may change these governments as they see fit, such changes being made by alterations in the different constitutions, and in the state and national laws.

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

And this brings us to the manner in which constitutions may be changed. In our study of the state, we saw that its voters may alter its constitution in much the same way that it was originally adopted: through a convention of delegates called for that purpose, or by the legis-

[1] U. S. Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 10.

[2] U. S. Constitution, Amendments IX and X.

lature submitting proposed changes to be voted upon, "yes" or "no," by the voters. The United States Constitution may be changed after two-thirds of both houses of Congress or two-thirds of the state legislatures have proposed certain changes. Such proposed changes become the law only when agreed to by three-fourths of the state legislatures, or by conventions of the people in three-fourths of the states.[1]

Suggestive Questions

What two bodies constitute the Congress of the United States? How many members in each? How are they chosen? For what terms of office? How may a bill vetoed by the President become a law?

Describe the method of electing the President. For how long is he chosen? When may the President be elected by the House of Representatives? How many presidential electors are chosen in your state? How is the number determined?

Name the officers constituting the President's Cabinet. Describe the work of each.

Describe the Supreme Court of the United States. How does the Constitution divide the powers of government between the national and the state governments? How may the Constitution be amended?

[1] See United States Constitution, Art. V.

Thou hast a deeper, stronger hold,
Flag of my country! on my heart,
Than when o'er mustered hosts unfurled
Thou art a signal to the world
At which the nations start.

Thou art a symbol of the power
Whose sheltering wings our homes surround;
Guarded by thee was childhood's morn,
And where thy cheering folds are borne
Order and peace are found.

Flag of our mighty Union, hail!
Blessings abound where thou dost float,
Best robe for Freedom's living form,
Fit pall to spread upon her tomb,
Should Heaven to death devote.

Wave over us in glory still,
And be our guardian as now
Each wind of Heaven salutes thy streaks!
And withered be the arm that seeks
To bring that banner low!

WILLIAM PARSONS LUNT.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME RIGHTS AND DUTIES

We sometimes hear a person say, "I have a right to do this"; or, "You have no right to do that." Or we may hear it said: "This is my right; that is your duty." What is here meant by the words, "right" and "duty"? What are our rights? How do we come by them? What, also, are our duties?

THE RIGHT TO LIFE

First, we may say that certain rights are inherent in every person. What does this mean? It means that the rights naturally belong to us; that they are born with us; that they cannot be taken away from us without doing us an injustice. Such a natural or inherent right is every person's right to his life. Every one has a right to live. No one has the right to take the life of another. The man who willfully and maliciously takes the life of another person is a

murderer, and most states punish the murderer by depriving him of his own life.

Yet there are times when the law allows one to take life. Thus a man may, in self-defense, in order to save his own life or the life of another, maim or kill one who is attacking him. In war it is the legal duty of the soldier to shoot his enemy, when commanded to do so by his superior officer. But many persons think that war is unjustifiable — that it is not proper for nations, any more than it is for individuals, to employ force and to take life, in order to settle disputes. However that may be, the time has not arrived when the nations of the earth have learned to settle all their disputes by arbitration or by other peaceful means, instead of by war. Because of this the government has a lawful right to order its able-bodied citizens to take up arms against its enemies. It thus happens that the citizen may sometimes be compelled to give up his own life in order to preserve what are regarded as the rights of the nation.[1]

[1] In this country only the government of the United States has the right to make war. A state, however, when in danger of invasion by a foreign foe, may call upon its own citizens to take up arms in its defense. See U. S. Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 10.

THE RIGHT TO LIBERTY

Besides his right to life, every one has a natural right to be free and unrestrained. For without freedom he cannot fully enjoy his right to life. But the right to freedom of action stops when the act is one that interferes unjustly with the rights of another. Thus, a man has a natural right to make all the noise he sees fit, but if he attempts to exercise this right in the crowded streets of a city, he will find himself restrained by officers acting under the law that forbids him from unnecessarily disturbing his neighbors. Many acts which are in themselves right and harmless are thus forbidden by the law because they may interfere with the peace and comfort of others. This restraint of individual freedom for the benefit of all is known as civil liberty, or liberty within the law.

THE RIGHT TO PERSONAL SECURITY

Closely connected with our rights to life and liberty is our right to be safe and secure in the exercise of these rights. If we were unable to go upon the streets without constant fear of great danger, our enjoyment of life and liberty would

be greatly lessened. So, too, if we lived in constant danger of contagious disease. That we may enjoy life and liberty, the government undertakes to protect us in our right to be reasonably safe and free from danger. It protects us by forbidding the dangerous acts of others. Thus, the government forbids the construction of unsafe buildings, and the careless storing and use of dynamite and other explosives. For the same reason, it may compel each householder to keep his premises clean and free from conditions that breed disease. If a person threaten to do us bodily injury, we may have him arrested and brought into court, where he may be compelled to give a pledge or bond that he will keep the peace. So if a person lie about us to the injury of our reputation we may have him arrested and punished. These are but a few of the many ways the government undertakes to protect us in our right to personal security.

THE RIGHT TO PROPERTY

Every one has a natural right to that which is his own. If you join sticks and paper to make a kite, the kite belongs to you. If you find a

piece of money and cannot discover the person who lost it, it is yours. If you work for wages, after you are twenty-one years of age, the money is yours. You may do what you like with it, so long as you do not use it in a way to interfere with the rights of others. You may buy land and cultivate a garden, and the products will belong to you. You may build a house on your land, and the law will protect you in your right to own and use it, so long as you do not use it in a way to injure others. But if you use it for unlawful purposes the officers of the law will restrain you. Thus, all private property is owned subject to the greater rights of the community. No person may take your property or destroy it, except officers of the government acting under the laws. It sometimes happens that a man's private property is needed for public uses. For instance, the land on which your house stands may be needed for a public park. In that case your land may be taken, but the government must pay you a reasonable price for it. This right to take private property is called the state's Right of Eminent Domain. It is similar to the government's right to order

its citizens to take up arms in war, even though these citizens may lose their own lives by so doing.

GOVERNMENT PROTECTS US IN OUR RIGHTS

How does the government protect us in our rights? First, it protects us by making laws to punish those who deprive us of these rights. Thus, if a man unjustly attack another, the police will arrest him and the courts will try him, and if found guilty, he will be fined or locked up. Much the same thing happens when one person wrongfully takes the property of another. We thus see that rights may be forfeited for wrong-doing. The violent and disorderly person may be temporarily deprived of his right to liberty. The man committing murder may be deprived of his own life; while in other instances, a person breaking the laws may be deprived of some portion of his property by a fine.

THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS[1]

When one is arrested or otherwise restrained, and there seems to be a question of the right

[1] Habeas Corpus comes from the Latin, and means, literally, to have the body.

thus to restrain him, his friends may go before a judge and ask for a paper known as the Writ of Habeas Corpus. This writ commands those depriving him of his liberty to bring him before the judge, that it may be decided whether or not he is wrongfully restrained. The right to the Writ of Habeas Corpus is one of the oldest and most famous rights of the English-speaking people. So important is it regarded that the right has been affirmed in our United States Constitution, and in most, if not all, of the state constitutions. The President has power to suspend temporarily this right in time of rebellion or other great public danger.

NO RIGHTS WITHOUT CORRESPONDING DUTIES

There is no right without some corresponding duty. Thus, while it is your right to be free and unrestrained, it is the duty of others not to interfere unnecessarily with your freedom. In the same way, it is your duty not to interfere with the freedom of others. As you have a right to your own property, so it is the duty of others not to disturb you in its possession. It is also your duty to respect this right of others. As

under our laws it is the right of every child to obtain a free education in the public schools, so it is the child's corresponding duty to make the best use of the schoolhouse, the free textbooks furnished, and the free instruction given by the teacher. No pupil who is idle or disorderly in school does his full duty to the state that protects him in his right to an education.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CITIZEN

As the government protects us in the possession and enjoyment of our rights, so it is our duty to do our share to sustain the government. It is our duty to pay our just share of reasonable taxes imposed by government, and to come to its defense when necessary. Is it not also every citizen's duty to aid his government in the performance of its duties, by helping to select and elect the right kind of public officers?

Suggestive Questions

What is meant by "civil liberty"? How does it differ from free and unrestrained license?

Name four natural inherent rights. How does the government protect us in the enjoyment of our rights?

What is the Writ of Habeas Corpus? How may it be obtained? For what purpose? Who may suspend the operation of our right to this writ? What instrument gives authority to suspend it?

What are the duties of the government to the citizen?

What are the citizen's duties to the government?

Describe the Right of Eminent Domain.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Respect for the authority of the government, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER XIV

GOING TO LAW

In the previous chapter we learned that the government protects us in our rights, and that it enforces certain duties upon us. We shall now learn more of the manner in which these rights are protected and these duties enforced.

ENFORCING PROPERTY RIGHTS

Suppose a man owes you money, but refuses to pay his debt. How will the government aid you in securing your right to the money? First, the law allows you to sue the man who owes you. You may go into court and complain against your debtor. The judge will then issue a paper called a summons, commanding the debtor to appear and answer to your complaint. The summons is served on the debtor by some one acting as an officer of the court. If the debtor does not appear at the proper time and answer to your complaint, the judge will give judgment

that you are entitled to your money, and will order an executive officer — usually the sheriff — to seize property of the debtor and sell it, and out of the proceeds pay the amount that is owing to you.

CIVIL SUITS AT LAW

But suppose your debtor comes into court and denies that he owes you. There must now be a trial of the issue of fact that has arisen. The judge may hear both sides of the dispute, or a jury may be summoned to decide the question in dispute. You may have a lawyer to present your side of the matter, and your opponent also may have a lawyer. You both may bring witnesses into court to prove the truth of your statements. The jury, after hearing the evidence, and after listening to the judge's statement of the law,[1] then decides whether or not you are entitled to the money. This decision is called the verdict of the jury. If the verdict be in your favor, the judge gives judgment as described before; if against you, judgment is given for the defendant. If, after judgment,

[1] Sometimes called the judge's "charge."

either of you thinks that an error has been made, he may appeal the matter to a higher court. This formal proceeding to secure your property rights is termed a civil suit at law.

PROCEDURE IN CASE OF CRIME

But suppose a thief breaks into your house and steals your money. What is then to be done? In this case a crime has been committed against the state, as well as a private wrong against yourself. The state, through its officers of justice, will now pursue the criminal to punish him for breaking the law.

THE WARRANT AND ARREST

The first step taken by the officers is to arrest the criminal. If he is seen committing the crime, any policeman, constable, or court officer may arrest him. So may any citizen. But if the criminal escape, some one usually goes before a judge and asks for a paper called a warrant, commanding an officer to arrest the criminal.

RIGHTS OF ACCUSED PERSONS

If the criminal resist the officer, force may be used to arrest him. He may even be maimed

or shot if necessary to make him submit. When brought into court the judge may examine him or he may order him to be locked up to be tried at some future time. In his examination the law protects the prisoner by allowing him to refuse to answer any question that might tend to prove him guilty. If the prisoner be detained without trial for what appears to be an unreasonable time, his friends may by the writ of habeas corpus, described in the preceding chapter, have him brought into court.

THE GRAND JURY AND ITS INDICTMENT

It is usual when grave crimes are charged, such as theft and robbery, to have the matter inquired into by a body of men known as the grand jury. The grand jury consists of sixteen to twenty-three men, who are selected from the county by officers of the courts. The charge against the prisoner is presented to the grand jury by the state's attorney [1] in a written accusation known as the bill of indictment. The grand jury, after listening to the indictment, and after hearing the evidence against the

[1] See p. 100.

prisoner, may hold him for trial, or they may let him go free. If held for trial, the prisoner is said to be "indicted."

THE RIGHT OF BAIL

An accused person awaiting trial may be locked up or he may be released on giving bail. The prisoner "gives bail" by getting some one to pledge a sum fixed by the court that he will appear at the time set for his trial. The right of an accused person to be released on giving reasonable bail is guaranteed by our constitutions, both state and national.[1] It has long been a right of the English-speaking people.

THE PRISONER IN COURT

When the prisoner comes into court for trial he is called upon to plead or answer to the charge against him. He may plead "guilty" or "not guilty." If he plead guilty, the judge sentences him to the punishment fixed by the law for his offense. If he plead not guilty, the state's attorney must proceed in his attempt to prove him guilty. A trial jury of twelve men, summoned

[1] A person charged with murder is not allowed to give bail.

as in a civil suit, listens to the evidence for and against the prisoner.

THE VERDICT OF THE JURY

After hearing the witnesses for and against the prisoner, the summing up of the case by the lawyers, and the judge's statement of the law, the jury decides whether the prisoner be guilty or not guilty. All of the jurymen must agree in the verdict found. A prisoner found "not guilty" by the jury must be released, and he cannot be tried again for the offense. If the prisoner be found "guilty," the judge sentences him, as described before. As in a civil suit, the prisoner may appeal to a higher court for a new trial, if he considers that an error has been made.

COURTS ENUMERATED

The lowest courts, the ones in which small offenses are tried, are the courts of justices of the peace and of police justices. Above these courts is the county court, presided over by the county judge. Still higher is the state superior court,[1] which usually has a branch in each county. In

[1] Called by different names in the different states.

this court the gravest offenses against the state, such as theft and murder, may be tried. Highest of all is the state supreme court,[1] which is principally a court in which appeals from the lower courts are decided. Offenses against the laws of the United States are, as we have learned, tried in the United States courts. The lowest of these is the district court. Above this is the circuit court, and highest of all is the Supreme Court of the United States, which sits at Washington.

THE COURTS AND THE CONSTITUTION

Among the most important work of the highest courts, both state and United States, is the duty of deciding whether statutes passed by the law-making bodies are in accord with the constitutions. Such decisions are made as the result of suits brought by persons who feel aggrieved at the working of particular statutes, and who charge that they are not in accord with the constitution.

[1] Called the Court of Appeals in New York.

Suggestive Questions

How are property rights enforced? What is the trial jury? How is it obtained?

What is a warrant? Name three rights of a person accused of crime. Describe the grand jury.

What is an indictment? What is the duty of the state's attorney in a criminal suit? Describe the right of bail.

He who asketh himself how much justice is worth, profaneth justice in his heart; and he who stoppeth to calculate what liberty will cost, hath renounced liberty in his heart. Liberty and justice will weigh you in the same balance in which you have weighed them. If there be a people on earth who think less of justice and liberty than the laborer doth of his harvest, or the workman of his daily bread, or the merchant of his wealth, or the mariner of his repose, or the soldier of his glory: — build around that people a high wall, that their breath infest not the rest of the world. — Lamennais.

CHAPTER XV

PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

MUCH has been said in this little book about the duty of the voters to select honest and capable men for public officers. Let us see how this work of the voters is done. Suppose a mayor is to be chosen in your city, or an alderman in your ward, or a supervisor in your town. How do the voters go about it?

We will suppose that it is election day, and that your father and big brother go up to the polls to vote. In most states they will find, on reaching the voting-place, a number of election officers sitting behind a bench or table on which are arranged ballot boxes and piles of official ballots. A specimen official ballot, you remember, was given in Chapter III. Turn back to page 26 and examine it.

THE OFFICIAL BALLOT

On this ballot, one of which is handed to every voter, you see a long list of names arranged in

columns.[1] Now look at the words heading the different columns. You find the words, "Republican," "Democratic," "Prohibition," "People's Party," "Socialist Labor," etc. You also find a column left blank for independent nominations.

HOW THE BALLOT IS VOTED

Suppose your father is a Democrat and wishes to vote "the straight Democratic ticket." He takes the official ballot into a little voting-booth or stall, and with a pencil marks the column headed "Democratic." Suppose he wishes to vote for some Republicans or Labor Party men. He will indicate this by a pencil mark opposite the names of the men for whom he wishes to vote.[2] He then folds his ballot, comes out of the booth, gives the ballot to an election officer, who drops it, still folded, into the ballot box. This choosing of our public officers seems to be a very simple matter, doesn't

[1] The ballot has different forms in the different states. The teacher should get the ballot of his own state and study it with the class.

[2] If he does not wish to vote for any man named by the regular parties for a particular office, he may write the name of his choice in the blank column.

it? But that is where a great many of our well-meaning voters are mistaken. The truth is, that no duty of the citizen requires more careful and painstaking effort. Let us look into this matter.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

The voter, as he goes to the polling-place, finds his ballot already made up for him. Who made it? Who selected the names on the ballot that is put into his hands? And how were they selected? Are they names of men who, if elected to office, will serve the people well, or are they men who will work simply to advance their own private interests or the interests of those who put them on the ballot? These are very important questions. Let us take the names in a single party column and try to answer these questions. An answer for one party will not be far out of the way for the others.

WHY WE HAVE POLITICAL PARTIES

We know how and why an army is organized. It is organized for a purpose. It has its leaders who direct it, and its rank and file who obey orders — all for the accomplishment of its pur-

pose. In our last war the purpose of the army was to beat Spain, and officers and men all worked for this common end. It is much the same with a political party. It is organized for a purpose — *to get the offices*. It has its leaders and its men — all working for this end. Of course, many members of the party wish it to get control of the offices so that some great public policy advocated by the party may be carried out. For example, the Republicans who nominated Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860 wished to get the offices so that they might keep slavery out of the territories. But there are always many members of a party who wish it to win chiefly that their friends may have the honor and money that is to be obtained through holding the offices. We may say, then, that a political party is a great machine organized to get the offices. There are usually two great parties of about equal strength in most parts of this country, and a man who works outside of either stands little chance, as a rule, of helping to put men in office. The man who would have his vote count in the selection of public officers must, therefore, as a rule, work

with some political party. How do these parties work?

HOW PARTIES WORK

A party works, first, by having an organization of its voters wherever there are offices to be filled. Thus, in a town, there is a town organization of Republican voters, and another town organization of Democratic voters, and so on. In a city there are similar city organizations. These are often carried down into the wards and election districts. Each organization has its officers and its committees through which it does its work. All the different organizations of the same party work together. Thus, the party with which your father votes may have its election district organization and committee in your election district; its ward organization in your ward, composed of committeemen or delegates from the election districts; its city committee, composed of committeemen from each ward; its state committee, composed of delegates from each city and county organization of the party; and its national committee, made up of delegates from the states.[1] It is the object

[1] This is not always the exact arrangement, but it illustrates the working of party committees.

of all these committees to select men for public office who can win, and to bring out the party vote on election day.

"THE BOSS" AND "THE MACHINE"

As in every organization there are leaders, so each party organization has its leaders, shrewd, far-seeing men, who direct it in its efforts to win at the elections. Such a party leader is often a successful office holder, though he may be merely a private citizen. He is known in popular phrase as "the boss"; and the men who, under his leadership, manage the party organization, are known as "the machine." The names on the official ballot, if they are for comparatively unimportant offices, are often selected in secret conference by "the boss" and "the machine." But candidates for the more important offices, such as mayor or governor, must, as a rule, be more carefully chosen. They must usually be public-spirited men, with a reputation for honesty and ability, men who will attract enough independent voters to the party ticket to give it a chance of winning.

THE PARTY PRIMARY

But while "the boss" and "the machine" may agree in secret upon the names to go on the party ballot, the actual selection of these names is left to the voters of the party. And this selection is made at what is known as "the party primary" or "caucus." A party primary is a meeting of all the voters of a party living in a particular election district, town, or ward. It is something like a town-meeting, except that it is attended by the voters of one party only. It may be an open meeting at which any voter of the party may propose names to go on the party ballot, or it may be a meeting where the voters decide between different persons who are striving to get on the ballot. It is the most important meeting of the voters in a government like ours, for, at the primary, steps are first taken to select the public officers who make and enforce our laws. Very often at a primary meeting the voters simply vote for the names, good or bad, previously agreed upon by "the boss" and "the machine." But this is not the course adopted by the more intelligent voters. They look carefully into the character of the would-be

office holders before voting to place their names on the official ballot.

NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

Often a primary meeting only selects delegates to go to another meeting known as the nominating convention, where the real selection of names to go on the party ballot is made. Thus the party voters may at the primary meetings name one or more delegates from each ward to go to a city convention, and this city convention selects the party's candidate for mayor and other city nominees. At such conventions there is often great opportunity to influence members to name men for office who will work for private interests instead of public ends. In order to remedy this evil there is a growing feeling among the more intelligent voters that most party nominations should be made directly by the voters at the open party primary meeting. This plan, which has been adopted in Minnesota and some Southern States, is known as the "direct primary system." Under its operation the naming of men to go on the party ballot is made by the rank and file of the voters. After the different

parties have selected their candidates, the final choice is made by the voters at the regular elections.

THE VOTER AND THE NOMINATING MACHINERY

Our Presidents, governors, United States representatives, members of state legislatures, and other important public officers are usually first named for office by nominating conventions whose members have been selected by other conventions in the smaller political divisions. Thus a Republican candidate for President of the United States may be named by a national nominating convention, made up of Republican delegates chosen at conventions in the different states; the members of the state conventions may, in their turn, have been chosen by other conventions in the counties; and only the delegates to the county conventions may have been chosen directly by the Republican voters at the primaries. It is thus a long step from the individual voter to his candidate for the Presidency.

Suggestive Questions

Describe the official ballot used at elections in your state. How are names placed on this ballot?

What is a party primary or caucus? How does it differ from a nominating convention?

How is the mayor named in your city? The supervisor in your town? The sheriff in your county?

Describe the so-called direct primary system. Give a good reason for nominating most officers directly at the primaries. Give an argument against such a practice.

We reach the wider field of politics and shape the national policy through the town-meeting and the party caucus. They should neither be despised nor avoided, but made potent in securing the best agents for executing the popular will. The influence which goes forth from the township and the precinct meetings is felt in state and national legislation, and is at last embodied in the permanent forms of law and written constitutions. I cannot too earnestly invite you to the closest personal attention to party and political caucuses and the primary meetings of your respective parties. They constitute that which goes to make up at last the popular will. They lie at the basis of all true reform. It will not do to hold yourselves aloof from politics and parties. If the party is wrong, make it better; that's the business of the true partisan and good citizen. — William McKinley.

CHAPTER XVI

SOME QUESTIONS DIVIDING THE VOTERS

THE voters very often put certain men into office because these men stand for or represent some particular view of a great public question. Thus Mr. McKinley was made President in 1896 because a majority of the electors agreed with him in demanding a "protective tariff." In 1900 he was again made President because he stood for this view of the tariff and for money based on a single gold standard. Mr. Bryan, on the other hand, was defeated because the majority did not agree with him in his demand for "free coinage of silver." In 1892 Mr. Cleveland won the Presidency largely because he advocated the lowering of the tariff.

QUESTIONS THAT HAVE DIVIDED THE VOTERS

Great political parties grow up through a union of the voters who agree upon some one or more public questions. In 1856 the present Republican Party was formed by voters who

agreed that slavery should be kept out of the territories. In our early history the Federalist Party, led by John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, believed in a strong national government, while the Anti-Federalists, led by Jefferson, stood for " personal liberty " and the rights of the individual states against what they believed to be the dangerous aggressions of the national government. Later the Whig Party, led by Henry Clay, stood for a " protective tariff " and a United States bank. The Whigs believed also that great internal improvements, like canals and interstate roads, should be built by the national government. They were opposed by the Democrats, who believed in a tariff for revenue only, and who held that the states should build necessary canals and roads.

REASONS FOR VOTING WITH A PARTY

To-day also the voters are divided largely between two great political parties because the voters hold differing views on various public questions. Smaller parties, like the Socialist Labor Party and the Prohibition Party, also marshal numerous voters in favor of their pecu-

liar views. Every one ought to know something of these questions dividing the voters, so that he may take an intelligent stand upon them. When he comes to vote he should be able to give a good reason for the way he casts his ballot. He should not vote with a party because his father or grandfather voted with it, but because he believes in the position the party takes on the great public questions of the day. What are some of these questions?

THE "TRUST PROBLEM"

Foremost among the questions dividing the voters is the proper method of treating the great business combinations known as "trusts." When a business grows too large for one or more persons to manage it successfully, the usual plan is for a company to be formed by men who unite their money and skill in the conduct of the business. The company usually goes to the legislature of some state and asks for a charter permitting it to do business according to the laws of the state.

The company is now known as a corporation. Corporations are thus formed for conducting

railroads, operating mines, carrying on manufactories, etc. We will suppose that such a corporation is engaged in manufacturing iron and steel. It comes into competition with other corporations and firms engaged in the same business. Each tries to sell all the iron possible, even to the extent of securing customers and trade from the others.

At last the different corporations and firms find it for their mutual interests to stop competing with one another for the favor of customers. They agree to unite their interests, instead, in one huge concern. They may thus regulate the amount of iron and steel produced, and they may cut down expenses by doing away with unnecessary employees and the running of unnecessary machinery. They are now known as a "trust." The trust, if it can do away with competition, has it in its power to raise the price of goods made of iron. People who use iron and steel must pay the trust price or go without.

What shall be done with trusts? Many people think that trusts should be absolutely prohibited, and there are now numerous laws

against them. Others hold that tariff duties should be taken from articles similar to those made by the trusts, in order to invite the competition of foreign manufacturers. Still others believe that trusts, rightly managed, should prove of benefit to the people by doing away with the needless wastes of competition. These people would have the government regulate the operations of trusts in the interest of fair dealing.

THE TARIFF

The tariff is a question that has divided the voters almost from the beginning of the republic. Many hold that so high a tax should be laid on imported articles that similar articles made in this country may be sold here for less than the cost of the imported article. This is known as a " tariff for the protection of American industry." Others claim that we should be benefited by allowing imported articles to come in free of duty, or at a rate just sufficient to provide the government with needed revenue. The former view is known as " free trade," the latter as " tariff for revenue only." The " free trad-

ers" claim that the people would be best off if allowed to buy their goods wherever they can get them the cheapest, while the "protectionists" hold that our generally higher wages and better style of living, as compared with European countries, are largely due to a protective tariff.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

In most civilized countries the government owns and operates the telegraphs, as our government owns and operates the post-offices. In some countries the government owns the railroads. Many cities own and operate their water-works and lighting systems, while some city governments own the street railroads. It is a question with many whether government or private ownership of industries like the telegraph, telephone, railroads, lighting systems, water-works, and street railroads, gives better service to the people.

When a single lighting company supplies an entire city with light, and there is no competing lighting system, the company is said to have a monopoly. In like manner, most street rail-

roads are monopolies. The people are usually protected from unjust charges by such monopolies by laws fixing the rates for their service. Whether owned by the government or by private companies, it is certain that the people can secure the best service from such industries only when they are managed by experts and not by those who have secured places in them as the result of favoritism or "politics."

DISPUTES BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR

To-day we find combinations of laborers pitted against combinations of capitalists in the management of great industries, upon the successful conduct of which the comfort and prosperity of large numbers of people depend. When capitalists and laborers disagree there is often a "strike" or a "lock-out," which, for the time being, stops all work in the particular industry, to the distress and loss of the public. Thus, street cars cease to run, coal is not mined, building operations stop, and the people must get along as best they can till the private war between Capital and Labor is fought out. Many people hold that labor organizations as well as

corporations should be controlled in a way to make their members responsible to the law; and that, when a dispute arises between laborers and their employers, both should be compelled to submit their differences to an impartial court of arbitration. This, it is claimed, would do away almost entirely with so-called "labor disturbances," and result in mutual advantage to the disputing parties as well as to the public.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

There is a growing feeling on the part of some that the voters do not take sufficient part in making the laws. Representatives of the voters are elected to the lawmaking bodies and then left to do much as they please. If a representative chooses to disregard the wishes of those who elected him, they have no remedy except to refuse to re-elect him when his term of office expires.[1] As a partial remedy for such *mis*-representation it is suggested that the voters

[1] Certain high executive and judicial officers may be removed from office by a process known as impeachment. When a United States officer is impeached, the House of Representatives brings the charges against him, and he is tried before the United States Senate, which sits as a court. In the impeachment of a state officer, the assembly makes the charge and he is tried before the state senate.

themselves have the power to propose laws. This is called the Initiative. When a certain number of voters petition for a law, the lawmaking body must, under the Initiative, frame the law and pass it. After a law has been passed by the lawmaking body, it is also proposed, when a certain number of voters petition for such action, to have the law submitted to the great body of voters for their adoption or rejection, much as proposed constitutional amendments are now submitted. This process is known as the Referendum. The Initiative and Referendum are widely practiced in the republic of Switzerland.[1]

Problems like these, with many others touched upon in this little book, cannot be settled "off hand" by the making of single laws. Their solution is more in the nature of a gradual growth. It depends very largely on the honesty and intelligence of the voters, and the selection of competent public officers to represent them in the different departments of government.

[1] They have also been placed in the constitutions of eighteen states and are being agitated in several others.

PREPAREDNESS

The United States has a vast territory. She has many good harbors and navigable rivers reaching into the interior. She has rich iron and coal mines. She has broad, fertile, and well-watered farm lands. It would seem that the United States has all that a nation could wish. You would not expect her to covet the possessions of other nations or feel jealous of them.

The people who early came to America were persecuted in their own country. The later immigrants also came to us that they might live peacefully under a protecting government. This made us a peace-loving nation from the very first, busily engaged in developing the rich resources of our vast country.

As a result of this our thoughts, as a nation, have been little concerned about war. For the last century we have not been molested by other nations, and, until this last terrible war in Europe, a great many people in the United States began to hope for universal peace between nations. As a consequence we have a small army and navy, our coast defenses are

incapable of resisting the large guns of modern warfare, our railroads are not built and organized so as to move large bodies of troops quickly, and, in fact, we are in no respect prepared to repel a powerful invading army.

Some people think that trouble between us and foreign powers may arise at any time and that we shall be at their mercy unless prepared to meet them on equal terms. They think that we might even be invaded by a foreign power that has developed a powerful army. These people think that we should make extensive preparation for war by greatly enlarging our army, by increasing the number of our battleships, and by building formidable coast defenses.

On the other hand, a large number of people think that there is no danger of foreign invasion and that preparedness for war is not the best way to keep out of trouble with other nations. They say that the man who is trained to fight will generally find some excuse for fighting, and that it is the same with nations. They are convinced that if we prepare a large army, other nations will grow suspicious of us. They say that it is never true that "might makes

right," that we must lead the nations of the world in adjusting all difficulties between them by fair and peaceful means, and do away with fighting between nations as we have between individuals.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

Even in democratic countries, there has always been a division of opinion as to who had the right to vote. Certain colonies gave the right to male members of the Puritan church. Some Connecticut colonies gave the right to householders or taxpayers. About a century ago universal manhood suffrage started in the new western settlements and spread eastward. By Civil War times all states had given men the right to vote.

About this same time woman's suffrage was granted in Wyoming, and now, in 1916, has spread to eleven states west of the Mississippi and is being agitated in other states in all sections of the country. Many more states give women partial voting rights, usually allowing them to vote on school questions. That the woman's suffrage question is one that people

are thinking about with deep interest is shown by the fact that our Congress has considered an amendment to our national constitution that would give women equal voting rights with men in all states of the Union.

PROHIBITION

By prohibition is meant the doing away with the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for the purposes of the manufacturing industries, science, art, and medicine. Those who believe in prohibition say that it is advisable because annually vast sums are spent for intoxicants that result in great harm. Much of this money is spent by men who should use it to support their families, and as a result their wives and children are without sufficient food and clothing and are unhappy and poorly nourished.

The use of intoxicating liquors not only is the cause of this misery, but it also makes men unfit to labor. A large number of our great railroads and industries refuse to employ men who use alcoholic beverages. Men who have made a study of the question tell us that one-half of

the crime is due to alcohol and that a large share of those in the poorhouses are there because they themselves drink, or because the one who should have supported them drank.

Up to the present time (1916), eighteen states have passed prohibition laws, and a number of other states are considering such laws. Also a large number of towns and counties in other states have voted locally not to have alcohol sold within their territory. So at this time the sale of alcoholic beverages is prohibited in about three-quarters of the area of the United States.

In 1914 a prohibition amendment was introduced in Congress and received a majority vote, but failed to pass because it did not receive the two-thirds vote required.

The fact that prohibition is gradually being adopted by an increasing number of states, and that it had such a large vote in Congress, shows that it is a very important question.

You, as future citizens, should study these questions, so that when you are old enough to vote you will have an intelligent opinion about them.

STATES, POPULATION, REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS, AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

STATES	POPULATION, CENSUS OF 1910	REPRESENTATIVES	SENATORS	ELECTORS	STATES	POPULATION, CENSUS OF 1910	REPRESENTATIVES	SENATORS	ELECTORS
Alabama	2,138,093	10	2	12	Nevada	81,875	1	2	3
Arizona	204,354	1	2	3	New Hampshire	430,572	2	2	4
Arkansas	1,574,449	7	2	9	New Jersey	2,537,167	12	2	14
California	2,377,549	11	2	13	New Mexico	327,301	1	2	3
Colorado	799,024	4	2	6	New York	9,113,614	43	2	45
Connecticut	1,114,756	5	2	7	North Carolina	2,206,287	10	2	12
Delaware	202,322	1	2	3	North Dakota	577,056	3	2	5
Florida	752,619	4	2	6	Ohio	4,767,121	22	2	24
Georgia	2,609,121	12	2	14	Oklahoma	1,657,155	8	2	10
Idaho	325,594	2	2	4	Oregon	672,765	3	2	5
Illinois	5,638,591	27	2	29	Pennsylvania	7,665,111	36	2	38
Indiana	2,700,876	13	2	15	Rhode Island	542,610	3	2	5
Iowa	2,224,771	11	2	13	South Carolina	1,515,400	7	2	9
Kansas	1,690,949	8	2	10	South Dakota	583,888	3	2	5
Kentucky	2,289,905	11	2	13	Tennessee	2,184,789	10	2	12
Louisiana	1,656,388	8	2	10	Texas	3,896,542	18	2	20
Maine	742,371	4	2	6	Utah	373,351	2	2	4
Maryland	1,295,346	6	2	8	Vermont	355,956	2	2	4
Massachusetts	3,366,416	16	2	18	Virginia	2,061,612	10	2	12
Michigan	2,810,173	13	2	15	Washington	1,141,990	5	2	7
Minnesota	2,075,708	10	2	12	West Virginia	1,221,119	6	2	8
Mississippi	1,797,114	8	2	10	Wisconsin	2,333,860	11	2	13
Missouri	3,293,335	16	2	18	Wyoming	145,965	1	2	3
Montana	376,053	2	2	4					
Nebraska	1,192,214	6	2	8	Total	91,641,197	435	96	531

INDEX

Accused persons, rights of, 134, 135.
Agriculture, Department of, 117.
Aldermen, 58, 61, 74, 77.
Aliens, 28.
Ambassadors, 109.
Arbitration, 157.
Arrest, 134.
Articles of Confederation, 104, 105.
Assembly, 93.
Assessors, 36, 58.
Attorney-General, 94, 117.
Auditors, 51.
Australian ballot, 31, 141.

Bail, 136.
Ballot, 26, 141, 142.
Banks, 110.
Bill, 92.
Borough, 55.
" Boss," the, 145.
Building Department, 70.

Cabinet, 116, 117.
Capital and labor, 156.
Caucus, 146.
Charter, 57, 73.
Citizens, who are, 27, 28.
City charter, 73.
— council, 74.
— courts, 79.
— government, 63–82.
Civil liberty, 125.
Civil suits, 133.
Collector, 37, 58.
Colonies, the thirteen, 83, 84.
Commerce, Department of, 117.
Comptroller, 94.
Congress, 113.
Constable, 52.
Constitution, United States, 105, 106.
Constitution, how amended, 120, 121.
Consuls, 109.
Continental Congress, 84.
County, 46, 47, 96–100.
— court, 100.
— government, 98.
Courts enumerated, 137, 138.

Declaration of Independence, 104.

Departments of government, 22.
Direct democratic government, 50.
Direct primaries, 147.

Election districts, 29.
Electors, 115.
Eminent domain, 127.
Excise, 38.
Executive Department, 22.

Fence viewer, 51.
Fire Department, 70.
Franchise, 68, 75.
" Free trade," 154.

Government ownership, 155, 156.
Governor, 93.
Governor's veto, 92.
Grand jury, 135.
" Greenbacks," 109.

Habeas Corpus, 128, 129.
Health Department, 69.
" Home rule," 80.
House of Representatives, 113.

Impeachment, 157.
Indictment, 135.
Initiative and Referendum, 157, 158.
Interior, Department of, 117.

Judicial Department, 22.
Jury, 52, 135, 136.
Justice of the Peace, 52.

Labor, Department of, 117.
Legislative Department, 22.
Legislature, State, 92, 93, 96.
Liberty, right of, 125.
Lieutenant Governor, 94.
Lights, city, 67.

Mail, carrying of, 107.
Mayor, 58, 78.
Mayor's veto, 78, 79.
Money, United States, 109.
Municipal corporation, 52, 53.

Naturalization, 28, 108.
Navy Department, 117.
Nominating conventions, 147, 148.

Ordinances, 57, 75.

Parks, 71.
Police Department, 70.
Police justice, 59.
Political parties, 142.
Poll tax, 38.
Post-Office Department, 117.
Pound keeper, 51.
Preparedness, 159.
President, 115.
President's veto, 115.
Presidential succession, 118.
Primary, 146, 148.
Prohibition, 162.
Property rights, 126, 127, 132.
" Protective tariff," 154.

Referendum, 157, 158.
Representative government, 50.
Representatives, United States, 113.
Rights and duties, 123.
Road commissioners, 51.

Secretary of State, 94, 117.
Security, right of, 125, 126.
Selectmen, 49.
Senate, State, 92.
Senate, United States, 113.
Sheriff, 99, 100.
Shire, 97.
State courts, 94, 96.
— attorney, 100.
— constitution, 87–89.
— government, 83–102.
—, how admitted, 85.
— laws, 90–93.
— Legislature, 91–93, 96.
— officers, 93, 94.
State, Department of, 117.
Street railroads, 68.
Streets, 64.
Supervisor, 50.
Supreme Court, State, 96.
Supreme Court, United States, 118.

Tariff, 38, 154, 155.
Taxes, 33–41.
—, how laid, 36, 110.
Thirteen Colonies, 83, 84.
Town, 42–54.
Town clerk, 48.
— meeting, 48.
— officers, 49–51.
Township, 42, 43, 44.
Treasury Department, 117.
Treaties, 108.
"Trust problem," 152, 153.
Trustee, town, 50.
—, village, 58.

United States Constitution, 105, 106.
— courts, 118, 119.
— government, 103–121.
— territory, 111.

Verdict, 137.
Veto, 78, 79, 92, 115.
Vice-President, 116, 117.
Village charter, 57.
— court, 59.
— government, 55–62.
— officers, 58, 59.
— president, 58.
Voters, qualifications of, 26, 27, 29.
Voting machines, 31.

War Department, 117.
Wards, 19, 20, 76.
Warrant, 134.
Wastes, city, 66.
Water, city, 65.
Woman's suffrage, 161.